

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

September, 1952

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SIR THOMAS WYAT AND THE SCENARIO OF LADY JANE

By PHILLIP SHAW

The view that the extant play, *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1607),¹ is a shortened version of one or both of the two lost "Lady Jane" plays mentioned in Henslowe's account book in 1602,² has reasonably received wide and outright approval.³ *Wyat* is the only known contemporary drama dealing with the tragic queen, the two authors named on the title page are two of the five playwrights listed by Henslowe, and the same acting company is associated with the three plays.⁴ Now, no closer or more specific relationship between the lost plays and the extant play has been established than that *Wyat* is some kind of abridgment of one or both of the "Jane" dramas. Also, probably because the actual source of *Wyat* is presumably *Jane*, there has been no thorough search for the basic source material. If, however, the actual source or sources of *Jane* can be found and the passages consulted by the original playwrights can be located, a much clearer and more exact understanding of the relationship between the extant and the lost work will result.

Since *Wyat* is taken to be an abridged version of parts of or all of *Jane*, traces of the original source material of *Jane* should be detectable in *Wyat*. It will be shown below that the original sources are traceable; indeed, usually obvious. The manner in which *Jane* was abridged—whether visually from the manuscript or orally from memory of the script⁵—and whether *Wyat* is a version, visual or oral, of a better abridgment does not alter the fact accomplished: certain peculiar details in *Wyat*, a rebuilt play, unmistakably go back to specific accounts in contemporary works. In all events, the same acting com-

¹ *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt. With the Coronation of Queen Mary, and the coming in of King Philip*. As it was played by the Queens Maiesties Seruants. Written by Thomas Dickers, And John Webster. London Printed by E.A. for Thomas Archer, and are to be solde at his shop at the Popes-head Pallace, nere the Royall Exchange. 1607.

² Chettle, Dekker, Heywood, Smith, and Webster were paid a total of eight pounds on October 15 and 21, 1602, for "a playe called Ladey Jane." On October 27 Dekker received for the Worcester's Men five shillings "in earneste of 2 pt of Lady Jane." W. W. Greg, ed., *Henslowe's Diary* (London, 1904, 1908), I, 183, 184. Greg adds payments of ten shillings to Smith and three shillings to Chettle on November 12 as being for *II Jane* (II, 232).

³ See, for example, W. L. Halstead, "Note on the Text of *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*," *MLN*, LIV (1939), 585-89.

⁴ During the time Henslowe made payments for *Jane*, the Queen's Majesty's Servants—then known as Worcester's Men—were being financed by Henslowe.

⁵ Leo Kirschbaum included *Wyat* in his roll call of reported texts ("A Census of Bad Quartos," *RES*, XIV [1938], 33-35), and W. L. Halstead argued that this play is based upon an actor's version of the original *Jane* plot, shortened for performance in the Provinces (*loc. cit.*).

pany is involved in the two works, and the abridgment probably was made within three years of the composition of the original work,⁶ so that it is not necessary to account for either the possession of the manuscript of *Jane* or the recall of its script by memory.

Wyat consists of seventeen scenes.⁷ Fourteen fall into four narratively distinct sets. The remaining three scenes are likewise narratively apart; also, they introduce signal inconsistencies into the plot. It will be shown below that (a) whereas each scene goes back to a single source, four different sources are traceable in *Wyat*, and (b) the four scene-sets and the three single scenes are distinguishable not only by aspect of plot but also by source. In other words, there is a consistent and systematic connection between the different narrative themes of *Wyat* and different contemporary works where indisputably parallel passages are found. It will be argued, furthermore, that the four scene-sets of *Wyat* constitute a scene-by-scene abridgment of corresponding blocks in *Jane* and that two of the three single scenes are remnants of a number of lost scenes belonging to two of these blocks in *Jane*, while the third occupied a different position in the original play. Finally, a reconstruction of the scenario of *I Jane* and *II Jane* will be attempted. In general, the principle of selection followed by the abridger or abridgers of *Jane* seems to have been to retain only the episodes associated directly with Wyatt's activities. The incidents thus dropped dealt largely with Jane and Mary. In other words, foreground and background were inverted. This conclusion explains the absence in *Wyat* of sufficient attention to Lady Jane herself to support the identification of this play with another play of which she was the titular heroine, and it accounts for the fact that the abridged version was retitled.⁸

⁶ The abridgment probably was composed before the Gunpowder Plot of November, 1605. Although *Wyat* deals with two political revolts associated with religious partisanship, it has no marked anti-Catholic sentiment. The unhistorical depiction of Queen Mary dressed like a nun, reading the Roman Catholic prayer book and praising it without any hint of self-righteousness, is, for example, clearly more sympathetic than was required by the minimum standards of patriotism and censorship. It is extremely unlikely that a scene such as this would have been retained if the short version had been written a year or two after the Gunpowder Plot. There is a similar absence of hostility toward Catholicism in the sympathetic treatment of Mary's husband in *I If You Know Not Me* (1605; registered July, 1605), but a significantly contrasting bitterness toward this Queen in the Prologue of *The Whore of Babylon* (1607).

⁷ In the Tudor Facsimile Text edition of the British Museum copy, ed. J. S. Farmer (1914), the scene endings occur on the signatures as follows: Scene 1, A3; Scene 2, A4; Scene 3, B1; Scene 4, B1^v; Scene 5, B2; Scene 6, B4; Scene 7, B4^v; Scene 8, C2; Scene 9, C3^v; Scene 10, D2^v; Scene 11, D3^v; Scene 12, E1^v; Scene 13, E3; Scene 14, E4; Scene 15, F1; Scene 16, F3^v; Scene 17, G3.

⁸ E. E. Stoll has not received support for his conjecture that Henslowe's use of the name "Jane" as the title of the play does not necessarily denote the leading character, and that, in fact, Wyatt had the principal role in the original play. John Webster (Boston, 1905), p. 13. Possibly, if Stoll had not assumed Holinshead's *Chronicles* to be the sole source of *Wyat*, he would have sought an explanation for the inconsistency of the title roles in the abundant source material rather than in the official entry. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 45.

The principal plot of *Wyat* depicts two rebellions led by Wyatt against the Crown. The first is in opposition to Jane's nomination as Queen in preference to Mary, and the second is against Queen Mary's "Spanish Marriage." The first revolt is described in Scenes 1 to 9 in the form of two distinct narrative blocks and two single scenes, the blocks and single scenes being distinguishable by theme and source. Scenes 1 and 2 form a narratively continuous set of episodes going back to John Foxe's forcefully Protestant account, in *Acts and Monuments*, of the prosperous beginning of the political coup by Suffolk and Northumberland—respectively, Jane's father and father-in-law—to establish Jane's claim over Mary's to the throne made vacant by the death of King Edward.⁹ Scenes 4 to 8 comprise a block presenting the preparations and final collapse of the military plot under Northumberland's leadership, and they originate from the *Annals* of John Stow, who was clearly more interested than Foxe in martial details.¹⁰ Within the two sets of scenes, the historical narrative runs clearly and coherently, and there is no indication that each scene does not retell, with certain rhetorical abbreviations, the plot of a corresponding scene in the full-length version. In other words, Scenes 1 and 2 and 4 to 8 of *Wyat* can be taken to constitute a scene-by-scene abridgment of Scenes 1 and 2 and five other scenes of *Jane*.

Between the set of political scenes originating in Foxe and the martial set going back to Stow, lies Scene 3, which presents special problems. The scene depicts Princess Mary, in retirement, broken in upon by Sir Henry Benefield, who salutes her as "Queen" because Edward has died. Mary promises:

⁹ Foxe's account is quoted at length in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, but several details peculiar to Foxe and *Wyat* are vestiges of the original source. One is the point that Jane was proclaimed Queen in many important places, as well as in London, Holinshed reporting only the latter city. Also, the suggestion for Wyatt's unhistorical role as the only Council member refusing to sign a bill investing Jane as Queen is integral in an account by Foxe ignored by Holinshed. Holinshed copied from Foxe the circumstance that a Sir John Hales was the only official who would not consent to Mary's succession, but omitted the special details that Hales was from Kent and that it was feared that Mary would marry a "stranger" and establish Catholicism, details exactly parallel to Wyatt's historical Kentish rebellion against Mary's "Spanish Marriage," which is described in Scenes 10 and following. Cf. *Acts and Monuments* (1563), p. 901, and *Chronicles* (1587), III, 1083. Foxe's *Abridgment of Acts and Monuments* also has the significant particulars, and this chronicle, rather than the original, may be the source. Cf. ed. 1589, II, 96.

¹⁰ Scenes 4 to 8 are based on Stow's description of the events, which Holinshed substantially but not completely transcribed. Certain points not copied by Holinshed but appearing in *Wyat* unmistakably reveal the earlier history as the source. The circumstance which comes to light in Scenes 5, 6, and 8, that the Council leaves the Tower to assemble at Bayard's Castle with the Lord Mayor, the sheriffs, and some aldermen, is given only by Stow. Also, "Master Roose," the name of the messenger who brings Northumberland a letter from the Council, and the quoted contents of the communication are peculiar to Scene 8 and Stow. Cf. *Chronicles*, III, 1088, and *Annals*, pp. 1035-36. (References in this paper are to the second edition of Stow's history. The first edition omits details common to the second and to *Wyat*. Cf. for example, ed. 1580, p. 1064, for the description of the situation just discussed. Later issues of Stow's chronicle to

You Sir Harry, for your glad tydings,
Shall be held in honour and due regard.

Sir Thomas Wyatt then bursts in. He informs Mary that under the influence of the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk the Council has proclaimed another person queen. He urges her to leave "this Cloyster" to win support for her claim, the tenants of the Dukes having already refused to help their lords in "these vnlawfull armes." Mary accepts his advice, and the scene ends as follows:

WYAT: Come let vs streight from hence,
From Framingham:
Cheere your spirits.
Ile to the Dukes at Cambridge, and discharge them all:
Prosper me God in these affaires,
I lou'd the Father wel, I lou'd the Sonne,
And for the Daughter I through death will run.

There are here certain striking inconsistencies of plot, and there is a peculiar garbling of historical circumstances. First, the facts that the initial messenger is given a particular name, that his dramatic baptism is not casual—it is unhistorical—and that he is promised personal consideration, carefully prepare for a reappearance that does not materialize in the play. Second, Wyatt's assertion that he will go to Cambridge to discharge the Dukes is completely at variance with the sequence of events in the play.¹¹ And third, Mary's "streight" removal from "this Cloyster" Framingham does not provide for her crucial and historical religious oath which is given particular attention in Scene 10 as having been taken at Framingham after Edward's death. Actually, Mary's coming out of retirement was a response not to overt partisanship ("these vnlawfull armes"), but to a general invitation for support that awakened the country, and it was *to*, not *from*, Framingham. These irregularities cannot satisfactorily be dismissed as inadvertencies of a dictator, transcriber, or printer, or as scars resulting from the abridgment of a single scene of *Jane*. When, however, these odd details are related to the historical narratives about Lady Jane, they can be explained as vestiges of scenes which

1605 have negligible differences. The second edition of Holinshed is cited here throughout because the first does not provide the transcriptions from Stow, which were often drawn from when Holinshed was the source. See, for example, note 12.) Scene 7 is an offshoot, partly unhistorical, of Scene 13, which is based upon Stow (see note 21). In Scene 7, Captain Bret, Northumberland's lieutenant, is characterized as being disturbed by the fact that he is supporting a cause unpopular among the common people, and in Scene 13 and in Stow's account he is revealed as actually changing sides when a battle is imminent and exhorting his soldiers to follow him because it is for the good of the people. Bret is a character also in Scene 4, and it is unreasonable not to regard this scene as derived from the same source as the other military scenes, which make up about half of *Wyat*.

¹¹ When the Dukes are next seen, they are still in London; when Wyatt reappears, he fights for Mary's rights not at Cambridge with the Dukes but in London with the Council; and when he does finally reach Cambridge, it is as ambassador not of Mary but of the Council, and to one Duke, not both.

appeared in the full-length version but which otherwise were dropped in the process of abridgment.

It is significant that the historical account of the events of which the irregular details in Scene 3 are traces throws the role of Mary and Jane into prominence as antagonist and protagonist, respectively, as would be expected in a play entitled *Lady Jane*. Holinshed, the probable source,¹² reports the events as follows. Hearing the rumor of her brother's death (which was an official secret for a few days) and of the Council's nomination of Jane to the throne, Mary was induced by friends to come out of retirement to permit supporters to rally to her side. On July 9, 1553, three days following Edward's death and on the very day on which Jane was elected his successor, Mary wrote to the Council in London to claim the throne. When she received a letter rejecting her claim, Mary was persuaded to go to Framingham, Suffolk, a less open and hence safer place. In London the Council, learning of Mary's sudden departure, decided to mobilize an army. It appointed Suffolk chief in command, but Jane, "taking the matter heavilie, with weeping teares, made request to the whole counsell, that hir father might tarrie at home in hir companie." The Council acquiesced and, after some discussion, Northumberland was induced to accept the position. In the meantime, Framingham had become a rallying place for Mary's adherents, including even Suffolk's men, whose allegiance Mary had won by taking an oath not to alter the religion that her brother had established.

It is difficult to think that a dramatist, constructing the biography of Jane directly from a historical account into play form, would reject "true" episodes already as intrinsically dramatic as those summarized above. The historical material, moreover, is rich in detail, the two letters, Jane's plea, the Council's reply, and Northumberland's words being quoted at length. Probably Scene 3 of *Jane* depicted Mary, the antagonist, being informed—as in *Wyat*—by Benefield that her brother had died, and by Wyatt that Jane had been officially named queen. Then it is likely that she was advised by Wyatt to lay her claim by letter before the Council, to repair to Norfolk so that sympathizers could resort to her, and there to proclaim herself queen. The next scene probably shifted attention to the young protagonist

¹² The source or sources of Scene 3 are obscure, as is to be expected of a scene condensed in part from a block of scenes. The choice reasonably narrows down to the *Chronicles* or *Annals*, since the episode verbally repeats the circumstances of the defection of the Duke's men from an account by Stow transcribed by Holinshed, but not given by Foxe. Cf. *Chronicles*, III, 1087; *Annals*, p. 1034; *Acts and Monuments*, pp. 901 ff. Two details point to the *Chronicles* as the source. First, the closing couplet of the scene echoes a striking declaration historically made by Wyatt at his trial—a detail reported solely by Holinshed. *Chronicles*, III, 1103. Second, the particular role of Sir Benefield as Mary's present and future supporter reflects knowledge of "The Troubles of Queen Elizabeth," a chapter copied by Holinshed from Foxe, but ignored by Stow, who does no more than record the knight's name amid a list of Marian partisans, and spells it "Bedingfield." Cf. *Chronicles*, III, 1156, and *Annals*, p. 1032.

Jane, pleading bravely but tearfully before the august Councilors that her father be relieved of the military command. Finally, Scene 5 likely returned to Mary, then at Framingham with Benefield and Wyat.

We come now to Scene 9 of *Wyat*. With Scene 8, Scene 9 forms the climax of the plots to crown Jane, the two scenes depicting, respectively, the capture of Jane's father and the arrest of her father-in-law. From two standpoints, however, Scene 9 belongs to the narrative block containing not the preceding but the following scene. First, Scene 9 is disassociated from the block containing Scene 8, because the two scenes go back to different sources, and it is associated with the block in which Scene 10 appears, because these two scenes have a definite, though indirect, source relationship. Several details of Scene 9 are not in the account by Stow, the ultimate source of Scene 8, but they are unmistakable traces of Grafton's *Chronicles* and of Thomas Heywood's history, *England's Elizabeth*, which has a close connection with Heywood's play, *I If You Know Not Me*, which in turn has a parallel situation to and an identical line with Scene 10 of *Wyat*.¹³ Secondly, if associated with the preceding block, Scene 9 introduces a glaring inconsistency into the plot. In Scene 9, Suffolk is depicted as being arrested, yet in Scene 5 he is said to have been captured already, while in Scene 10 he is ordered taken, and in Scene 11 he is led upon the stage under guard, just apprehended. Thus Scene 9 narratively belongs to the block containing Scenes 10 and 11 and fits contiguously between these two scenes. In this position it stands historically.¹⁴ It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that Scene 9 of

¹³ Two details are peculiar to Scene 9 of *Wyat*, to Richard Grafton's *A Chronicle at Large*, and to Heywood's *England's Elizabeth*. Grafton records that Suffolk's man "bestowed the Duke his Maister in a hollow Oke within the saide parke, where he remained two or three dayes vndiscovered." In *Wyat*, Suffolk remarks shortly before his arrest that "Three daies are past, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday too" since he has been hidden by his servant, and the latter, when he appears, refers to "The Night I left you in the hollow tree," the "hollow" being an odd term in the play, and in Grafton's and Heywood's account. Cf. *A Chronicle*, ed. 1568, II, 1331; *Annals*, p. 1048; *Chronicles*, III, 1095; *Acts and Monuments*, p. 916. For the reference in *England's Elizabeth* see the *Harleian Miscellany* (1813), X, 315. As for the resemblances between the two plays, see Mary F. Martin, "If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody and The Famous Historie of Sir Thomas Wyat," *Library*, Fourth Series, XIII (1932), 272-81.

¹⁴ Historically, Suffolk was arrested twice by Mary: first for his support of Jane and second for his opposition to Philip. In Scene 5, Arundel expresses concern over the growing prosperity of Mary's cause, one such evidence being that "the Duke is but newly arrested." Since this reference obviously cannot be to Northumberland, who, it is clear from Scenes 6 to 8, is still the active leader of Jane's forces, it must refer to Suffolk. In Stow's account, the ultimate source of Scene 5, Suffolk's first arrest is mentioned at just this point of the narrative. The circumstances of Suffolk's capture in Scene 9 are, historically, those of his second arrest. Also, in this scene, he is addressed as the "late Duke" and is arrested "in her highnesse name," as would naturally follow the events of Scene 10, where the Queen, observing that "the Duke of Suffolke is not yet apprehended," orders his capture, and as would precede Scene 11, where he is depicted as just arrested.

Wyat occurred between the scenes of *Jane* corresponding to Scenes 10 and 11 of *Wyat*.

If Scene 9 of *Wyat* did not in the original follow the scene corresponding to Scene 8 of *Wyat*, the question at once arises as to what episode or episodes—if any—Scene 9 displaced when the abridgment was made. Scene 10 presents Mary already as Queen of England. Thus seven scenes have gone by without her appearance, yet out of sight in the tiring room she has risen from recluse to sovereign! Furthermore, Jane, the heroine after whom the original play was titled, has fared no better, nor has Jane's father Suffolk or her husband Guildford.¹⁵ Finally, during the eclipse of these four characters, who are leading dramatis personae in the first two scenes of *Wyat*, Jane's father-in-law Northumberland has a "starring" role. Nevertheless suddenly, in Scene 8, he leaves the stage never to return! It is, of course, unreasonable to lay a play with such fitful appearances and disappearances at the door of the veteran dramatists Dekker and Heywood and even of the neophyte Webster. Also each of the four chronicles shown above to be ultimate sources of *Wyat* has an abundance of details that provide the missing parts of the story of Jane's fall and Mary's rise. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that *Jane* completed this dramatic story. The episodes probably omitted by the abridger or abridgers deal with Suffolk's arrest; Mary's triumphal entrance into London, and her reception at the Tower; her preliminary political acts, including the reward of Benefield and Wyatt; Northumberland's reunion with his son, daughter-in-law Jane, and her father Suffolk, all captives for treason; Suffolk's amnesty and Northumberland's dramatic trial; and finally Mary's spectacular coronation. The abundance of this historical material and the shifting locale of the action allow many scenes.¹⁶ Narratively, these follow Scene 11 of *Wyat*, with the exception of the episode about Suffolk's arrest, which, as shown above, is "missing" in *Wyat*, since the arrest depicted there belongs to a later part of the story. This episode was

¹⁵ After Jane and her husband "star" in Scene 2, they drop out completely for ten scenes, until, in Scene 11, they return as "leads." As for Jane's father, Suffolk virtually disappears for six consecutive scenes, before which he is a principal character and following which, in Scene 9, he suddenly and unaccountably walks upon the stage again as the chief figure of the episode. It is evident that between Scenes 2 and 9 the abridger or abridgers did not know what to do with him. When in Scene 4 Northumberland bids farewell to his friends in Suffolk's presence, the great Duke of Suffolk is not only apparently tongue-tied but also ignored by the group. In Scene 5, from a remark by a porter of London Tower (where, historically, Suffolk lived at the time) that opening the gate would provoke "the Duke's displeasure," it would appear that Suffolk was there, yet in the next scene, Arundel, in the Tower, alludes to "the two absent Dukes."

¹⁶ The absence in *Wyat* of vestiges of this missing scene-block of *Jane* makes the identification of the source material conjectural. Since, in the case of traceable sources, each scene of *Wyat* goes back to a single source, and all the scenes from one source are related narratively, and since the historical episodes in question are linked narratively with the block of Scenes 3 to 5, which have been traced to Holinshed, the *Chronicles* is the likely source.

probably the beginning of a scene presenting the dramatic reunion of Suffolk with his daughter and son-in-law in the Tower, where they were living no longer as the "royal family," but as doomed traitors. This fits into the scenario of *Jane* as Scene 10, between the scenes corresponding to Scenes 7 and 8 of *Wyat*.

If all of these scenes appeared in *Jane* between Scenes 8 and 10 of *Wyat*, in place of Scene 9, what scene of *Jane* does Scene 10 of *Wyat* represent? But Scene 10, as has been pointed out above, is removed narratively from Scenes 8 and 9. In other words, Scene 10 presents a major break in the subject matter of the story of Jane's fall and Mary's rise as falteringly related in *Wyat*. If this break reflects the division of *Jane* into Part I and Part II, as will be argued below, the above findings may be expressed as follows:

SOURCE	SCENE OF <i>Wyat</i>	THEME OF <i>Wyat</i>	THEME OF <i>I Jane</i> OMITTED IN <i>Wyat</i>	SCENES OF <i>I Jane</i>
Foxe	1, 2	Political plot to crown Jane	.....	.....
Holin	3	Counterplot to crown Mary	Success of counterplot: Jane in Tower, Mary in London, Northumberland's trial, Mary's coro- nation	3, 5 (Mary) 4, 10 (Jane) 12-end (Mary, Northum- berland)
Stow	4-8	Military plot to crown Jane: Northumber- land's rebellion	.....	6, 9, 11

That Scene 10 of *Wyat* marks some sort of dramaturgical fission was first drawn attention to by Fleay, who at this point divided the contributions of Dekker and Webster. But it remained for Greg to suggest that it splits the Parts rather than the authors.¹⁷ Three distinctive features in the scene give strong support to this view. A new

¹⁷ Frederick G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle* (London, 1891), II, 269; Greg, ed., *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 232-33. F. L. Lucas agreed with Greg's division of the Parts. *Complete Works of John Webster*, IV (London, 1927), 239. Several authors, on the other hand, were inclined to believe that *Wyat* represents only *I Jane*. Stoll felt that the fact that "the Coronation of Queen Mary, and the Coming in of King Philip" promised by the title page is not literally fulfilled in the extant play draws attention to a whole absent Part. *Op. cit.*, p. 13. Arthur Melville Clark, noting the coronation and marriage in question in *I If You Know Not Me*, suggested that *I Jane* is represented in *Wyat* and that *II Jane* consisted of *I If You Know Not Me*, plus the Parry-Armada scenes of the second Part of this play. *Thomas Heywood* (London, 1931), pp. 31-32. Mary Martin casts considerable doubt on this theory. *Op. cit.*, pp. 272-81. Madeleine Doran likewise did not favor it. Ed., *I If You Know Not Me*, Malone Society Reprints (London, 1935), p. xviii. In all events, since the "coronation" and "coming in" represent the two themes of *Wyat* and, as argued here, the themes of the two Parts of *Jane*, respectively, there is no reason to regard the title with suspicion.

set of *dramatis personae* appears, the roles of Norfolk and Pembroke, and the important one of Winchester beginning here;¹⁸ a new plot, Mary's "Spanish Marriage" and Wyat's opposition to it, starts; and the old plot, the failure of efforts to crown Jane, is treated as "antecedent action."¹⁹ In all, the scene has the static character of an opening scene.

Scene 10 represents more than the first scene of *II Jane*. Like Scene 3 of *Wyat*, it goes back to Holinshed,²⁰ and it prepares dramatically for episodes that fail to materialize, but that are amply described by Holinshed. As in Scene 3, furthermore, the motif of the missing scenes indicates that the principle of selection followed by the abridger or abridgers was to disregard the episode depicting Mary's success and to concentrate on the side of the controversy supported by Wyat. The lost block of the full-length play probably depicted Mary's dramatic appearance in the Guildhall to win support against Wyat (who was already marching at the head of a band

¹⁸ Although the Bishop of Winchester's name appears in the stage direction introducing Scene 6, he is assigned no acting or speaking role. The reference to him in Scene 6 is more likely a casual forecast of his later role put in by the abridger or abridgers, than a vestige of passages spoken by him in *I Jane*, but cut out. Historically, Winchester became an active anti-Protestant under Mary at just the point where his acting part begins in *Wyat*.

¹⁹ Note, for example, the use of the question device to introduce "antecedent action" in the following quotation from the scene:

ARUN. Count Edmond the Embassador from Spaine,
Attends your highnesse answere, brought those
Letters sent from the Emperor
In his Sonnes behalfe.

MAR. In the behalfe of louely Princely Philip,
Whose person wee haue shrined in our heart?

Compare this with the following quotation from the same scene. In *Wyat*, this does not present "antecedent action," but it certainly sounds like it.

ARUN. What is your Highnesse pleasure about the Rebels?

MAR. The Queene-like Rebels,
Meane you not Queene Iane?

ARUN. Guilford and Iane, with great Northumberland,
and haughty Suffolkes Duke. . . .

WIA. The Lady Iane most mightie Soueraigne,
Alyde to you in blood: for shes the
Daughter of your Fathers Sister.
Mary the Queene of France: Charles Brandons
Wife your Neece, your next of blood, except your sister,
Deserues some pittie so doth youthfull Guilford.

WIN. Such pittie as the law allowes to Traitors.

NORF. They were misled by their ambitious Fathers.

²⁰ Most of the traceable facts appear in Stow's account, which Holinshed copied, but two details picked up by Holinshed from Grafton's history (which otherwise cannot be the source) and repeated in Scene 10 betray that the source is the *Chronicles*. These are the family name "Brandon" of the Duke of Suffolk, and the title "Count" of Spanish Ambassador Edmond. Cf. *Chronicles*, III, 1083, 1093, and *Annals*, pp. 1031, 1045. Whereas the *Annals* (1592) spells the ambassador's surname "Edmond," which is closer to the play than the "Aiguemont" found in the *Chronicles*, and whereas later editions of Stow give the same version as that in *Wyat* (e.g., *Annals* [1605], p. 1043), the agreement is likely no more than a coincidence in a reported or pirated text. The variant form "Edmond" is given in the separate editions of *Wyat* by Dyce, Hazlitt, and Shepherd.

toward London to force her to repudiate her promise to marry Philip); Philip's landing at Southampton and his affectionate reception by the Queen; the official proclamation of the betrothal; and the gorgeous nuptial ceremony. The scenes of this narrative block probably were interlocked with the other blocks of the play so as to make Mary a dramatic "foil" to both Wyatt and Jane.

The remaining episodes of *Wyat* fall into two interlocking blocks. Scenes 12 to 15 dramatize Wyatt's armed revolt, and, like the martial scenes of *I Jane*, they go back to Stow's *Annals*.²¹ Scenes 11 and 16 resume the tragic tale of Jane and probably were ultimately derived from Holinshed.²² The dramatic "catastrophe" of each of these two blocks is presented at the end of the play in a pair of episodes which are independent—like "scenes"—except that one character remains on the stage during both. The first, or "Scene 17[A]," is associated with Stow, and the second, "Scene 17[B]," is associated with Holinshed.²³

An outline of the scenario of *I Jane* and *II Jane*, as reconstructed from *Wyat* and the source material, indicates the probable circumstances of composition of the two plays. After composing *I Jane*, which dramatizes the history of Jane's fall from Edward's death through Northumberland's trial, and Mary's rise, ending in a spectacular coronation finale, the collaborators apparently were hard put to find addi-

²¹ Certain details in *Wyat* and in the *Annals* do not appear in the *Chronicles*. Examples from Scenes 12 and 13 are the rallying cry "a Wyatt" of the anti-Spanish soldiers, the circumstance that the Londoners are to attack the rebels in the vanguard, the detail that in defecting from Norfolk's army the insurgents take with them eight pieces of brass cannon, and the granting of permission to a "Norry" from Norfolk to proclaim Mary Queen in Rochester upon threat of death if he speak audibly. *Annals*, pp. 1047-48; cf. *Chronicles*, III, 1094-95. Also, in Scene 14, Wyatt's request in the name of Mary that the city gates be opened to his man, and Pembroke's refusal with the words "Avaunt thou Traitor," and, in Scene 15, Pembroke's supposed recreancy because he has attacked only the "tail" of Wyatt's rebel band, occur in Stow's account, but not in Holinshed's. Cf. *Annals*, pp. 1051-52; *Chronicles*, III, 1098.

²² Scenes 11 and 16 go back to accounts transcribed by Holinshed from Stow and Grafton respectively, Scene 11 obviously not having been drawn from Grafton, and Scene 16 clearly not having been derived from Stow. The timely coincidence of Suffolk's conveyance to the Tower just before his daughter's death and the particular circumstance that Jane and her husband were not lodging together as their end drew near, are common to Scene 11, Holinshed, and Stow, but not Grafton. Cf. *Chronicles*, III, 1099; *Annals*, pp. 1053, 1054; *A Chronicle*, II, 1337, 1338. During the trial in Scene 16, Jane and her husband do not respond directly to the question, "Guilty or not guilty?" as, according to Grafton's and Holinshed's reports, Wyatt specifically acted. Stow does not reprint Wyatt's trial. Cf. *Chronicles*, III, 1103; *Annals*, p. 1056; *A Chronicle*, II, 1339.

²³ The only single history that can have been the ultimate source of these two episodes is Holinshed's, but "Scene 17[A]" is the culmination of previous action positively going back to Stow. The first episode of Scene 17, the circumstances leading to Wyatt's hanging at Hyde Park, goes back to Stow's *Annals*, pp. 1053, 1056. Holinshed's *Chronicles* has no significant differences (III, 1099, 1104). The details of the last episode of the play, Jane's execution, are given by Holinshed and Grafton (who took the account from Foxe), but not Stow. Cf. *Chronicles*, III, 1099-1100; *A Chronicle*, II, 1337; *Annals*, p. 1054. "Scene 17[A]" ends on sig. F.

SOURCE	SCENE OF Wyat	THEME OF Wyat	THEME OF <i>I Jane</i> OMITTED IN Wyat	SCENES OF <i>I Jane</i>
Foxe	1, 2	Political plot to crown Jane	.....	.....
Holin	3	Counterplot to crown Mary	Success of counterplot: Jane in Tower, Mary in London, Northumberland's trial, Mary's coronation	3, 5 (Mary) 4, 10 (Jane) 12-end (Mary, Northumberland)
Stow	4-8	Military plot to crown Jane: Northumberland's rebellion	.....	6, 9, 11
Gra	9	Arrest of Suffolk	.....	2
Holin	10	Plot for Queen M's "Spanish Marriage"	Success of plot: Mary in Guildhall, Philip in England, the nuptials	1, 4, etc. ²⁴
	11, 16 17[B]	End of plot to crown Jane: trial and execution of Jane and husband	.....	3, last two scenes
Stow	12-15 17[A]	Military counterplot against Mary's "Spanish Marriage": Wyatt's rebellion	.....	five scenes

tional historical material about Jane to go into a second play about her. They used what was "left over"—Jane's trial and execution, a fitting culmination for *II Jane*; then they turned to Mary's acts while Jane was still alive and found Mary's "Spanish Marriage" and Wyatt's rebellion. Here, however diffuse, was ample and dramatic material for a whole play. Now, when *I Jane* and *II Jane* were rebuilt into an abridged single play, the abridger or abridgers could not simply sys-

²⁴ Henslowe's *Diary* does not record completed payments for *II Jane*. Possibly a collaborator assigned to dramatize the success of Mary's plot bolted from the partnership and used the material for a whole play of his own—this would have been Heywood for *I If You Know Not Me* (1605). Perhaps a collaborator given this part of the play to write was suddenly confined in a place where pinchpenny Henslowe would not permit his copy of the expensive Holinshed folio to go out on loan—this would have been Dekker, who had been thrown into the poorest ward of the Poultry Counter in 1598 and 1599, and who seems to have been in and out of jail. See my article, "The Position of Thomas Dekker in Jacobean Prison Literature," *PMLA*, LXII (1947), 374, n. 46, 375, n. 49. Most likely, however, is the possibility that *II Jane* was finished. It is doubtful that Henslowe would have laid out five pounds for a suit of satin, as Fleay and Greg suggest he did for this play, unless it were certain that it would be worn on the stage. On November 6, 1602, Henslowe made such a payment for "the playe of the overthrowe of Rebelles." Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, II, 269; Greg, ed., *Diary*, I, 184, II, 232. The satin suit probably was for the Bishop of Winchester, a new and leading character in *II Jane*.

tematically shorten the original work by scene-by-scene abbreviations. Had they done so, what in *Jane*, especially Part II, was the grand diffuseness of a historical pageant, would have been the painful choppiness of a loose plot. What they did, as pointed out above, was to adopt the unified principle of selecting and abbreviating all scenes about Wyatt, his opposition first to Jane's election as queen and second to Mary's "Spanish Marriage." Then they patched them together. Thus they rebuilt a play unified by being about a single character, but narratively garbled at the patches—Scenes 3, 9, and 10.

In conclusion, the two outlines draw attention to the fact that doubt should be cast upon the ascription of *Wyat* by its title page to Dekker and Webster, two of the five authors mentioned by Henslowe in connection with *Jane*. Indeed, the marked failure of attempts to divide *Wyat* into two sections presumably marking shares of composition in the abridgment of the full-length version, should lead to suspicion of this assignment of authorship.²⁵ It is difficult to believe that two collaborators would resort to four chronicles that give similar accounts of the same historical period, but if they did, by no logical principle of selection could each of the four sources be expected to remain narratively distinguishable. On the other hand, it is reasonable to think that if *Wyat* represents all the sources of *Jane*, it also represents the shares of all the original authors. There must, then, be another reason for the appearance of the names only of Dekker and Webster on the title page. The fact that *Northward Ho* and *Westward Ho* were issued as by Dekker and Webster by two different publishers in 1607, the very year when *Wyat* was brought out by a third publisher, seems significant. Possibly, to capitalize upon the appearance of these two plays and market a poor manuscript associated in part with the dramatic team that wrote them, the third publisher launched *Wyat* into print as written by only these two of the five known collaborators.²⁶

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²⁵ A summary of the assignments to Dekker and Webster by various commentators is given by Lucas, *Webster*, IV, 240-41.

²⁶ It is not unreasonable to think that the circumstances of publication were as follows. On March 2, 1605, H. Rocket sought permission to publish *Westward Ho* by Dekker and Webster. The warrant was granted only "provided yat he get further authoritie before yt be printed." Arber's *Transcript*, III, 120. The official fuss raised some months later over the publication of a reply to *Westward Ho*, *Eastward Ho* (entered Sept. 4, 1605), made it impossible for Hodges to "get further authoritie" for some time. When, however, Dekker's and Webster's *Northward Ho*, an answer to *Eastward Ho*, was accepted by the Wardens of the Stationers' Company on August 6, 1607, and put out by George Elde, Rocket lost no time in issuing his play, which thus far had been a business loss to him. Now, at the time, Thomas Archer had on his hands a corrupt play, which was in part at least by Dekker and Webster. He had not even invested the registration fee to insure the printing copyright. But this was an opportunity to make a few pounds on it, and so he took the manuscript to a printer to be published. An alternate possibility is that, upon the publication in 1607 of the other two plays by Dekker and Webster, an actor reconstructed what he remembered of *I Jane* and *II Jane*, or of an abridgment for provincial acting, and sold it to Thomas Archer, as by Dekker and Webster.

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ADAPTATION OF MASSINGER

By DONALD B. CLARK

During the seventeenth century a shift in tragic theory took place, effected primarily by the demands of the early eighteenth-century audience, whose taste differed from that of the late Elizabethans. This change can be illustrated by a comparison of Nicholas Rowe's third play, *The Fair Penitent*, and Massinger and Field's *The Fatal Dowry*, from which play Rowe made his adaptation. For the twentieth-century critic the interest of *The Fair Penitent* lies in Rowe's shrewd discernment of the taste of the early eighteenth-century audience.

There is no extant record of the first performance of *The Fair Penitent*, but James R. Sutherland has conclusively shown that the première was early in March, 1702/03.¹ At that time Rowe's thorn in the flesh Charles Gildon called attention to the fact that the fable was derived from Massinger's *The Fatal Dowry*: "*The Fair Penitent* was built on a much better Play of Massinger's call'd *The Fatal Dowry*. The Poets are equally guilty of making their Heroine a *Whore*; but the latter Poet has made her more unpardonable and obstinate, and still less worthy of Pity."²

One hundred years later, in 1803, when the irascible William Gifford brought out his edition of Massinger, he accused Rowe of being completely dishonest in not revealing his debt to the earlier writer. Jealous of Massinger's fame and viewing Rowe's adaptation as plagiarism in the nineteenth-century meaning of that word, Gifford claimed that Rowe's failure to publish a projected edition of Massinger was due to fear that his undetected source of *The Fair Penitent* would be discovered. If this conjecture were true, Gildon would undoubtedly have known of the rumored edition of Massinger and, true to form, would have made use of such knowledge in his *New Rehearsal*, a castigation of Rowe. The fact that Gildon notes the original of the play and pursues the point no further is proof that the early eighteenth century looked upon *The Fair Penitent* as a legitimate adaptation of the Massinger play, then considered crude.

A comparison of Massinger's and Rowe's handling of the same material elucidates not only Rowe's discernment of the taste of the early eighteenth-century audience but also the general change in tragic theory which took place in the period between the writing of the two plays. The new audience, predominately middle class and influenced by neoclassic theory, preferred in its tragedies a single

¹ *Three Plays of Nicholas Rowe* (London, 1929), p. 342.

² *A New Rehearsal* (London, 1714), p. 57.

continuous action, less complex and more consistent characterizations, a dash of pathos, and an ubiquitous morality. These qualities had been minimized in Elizabethan tragedy. Rowe was obviously an ardent admirer of the Elizabethans,³ but also he was a man typical of his day. These old beauties must be refined and polished to meet with approval in his more cultured time.

Rowe's refinement of the Massinger plot first of all necessitated structural changes, which indicate the modulation in the sense of tragedy from the early seventeenth century to the eighteenth. His few editors have pointed out the superficial differences between the two plays: Rowe regularizes Massinger's plot; he reduces the original twenty-one characters to a more easily handled group of eight; he limits the action to one day and the place to Sciolto's garden, palace, and street adjacent to them; and half the action of *The Fatal Dowry* is simplified in *The Fair Penitent* by being thrown into retrospective narration.⁴

This narration briefly recapitulates the first two acts of Massinger's tragedy, in which Young Charalois (Rowe's Altamont) is overwhelmed with grief because his father's body cannot be buried until his creditors are satisfied, and he petitions the judges for clemency. At first he stands dumb before them, but finally he eloquently recalls the great feats which his father, the Marshal of France, had performed to save the country and that he had lost life and fortune in doing these things. Since Charalois cannot pay the creditors, he offers himself as payment for his father's debts. Such filial love so impresses Rochfort, one of the judges, that he arranges to pay the debts and, in answer to Charalois' question of repayment, asks him to marry his daughter, Beaumelle. This scene is succeeded by a typically Elizabethan spectacle, the funeral of the old Marshal, attended by the mourning Charalois and a host of great warriors who had fought with the leader and who now receive relics of the dead man as mementos.

The eighteenth-century sense of proportion led Rowe to disapprove all this incident as irrelevant. Its exclusion, however, created difficulties for him in *The Fair Penitent*. His aim was to arouse sympathy for his hero. Massinger's first two acts had achieved this with superb effect: the long silence in which Charalois stands before the judges, mute with sorrow and refusing to solicit their help as his friend

³ Rowe's plays are filled with borrowed plots and incidents from Massinger, Shakespeare, and Thomas Heywood. His library contained many sixteenth and early seventeenth-century works, among them: Ben Jonson's *Works*, Sir Thomas Browne's *Works*, Bacon's *Henry VII*, Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Works*, Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Spenser's *Works*, Shirley's *Plays*, Heywood's *Plays*, Shakespeare's *Plays*, Massinger's *Plays*, Bacon's *Remains*, Donne's *Paradoxes*, Bacon's *Essays*, Raleigh's *Remains*, and Shakespeare's *Works*.

⁴ Sutherland, *op. cit.*; Sophie Chantal Hart, ed., *The Fair Penitent*, Belles Lettres Series, Section III (Boston, 1907).

Romont urges, sympathetically fixes him in the mind of an audience more than the rhetorical speeches of Rowe's hero possibly could. Massinger goes even further. After Charalois finally pleads his case, the spectator sees him sorrowfully attending the funeral of his father, for whose debts he has offered himself in payment. By this device, sympathy is completely aligned with Massinger's hero, Charalois.

In accordance with the taste of his own day, Rowe omits these incidents of Massinger's first two acts and begins *The Fair Penitent* with the marriage, the episode which leads directly to the tragedy. By his contraction and omission Rowe reduces Massinger's complexity to a single continuous action, but he also deprives his hero, Altamont, of the audience's sympathy. Altamont first appears clad in his wedding clothes, in the splendor of wealth, and at the pinnacle of happiness. In the place of meaningful silence, one hears Altamont's cry of exultation:

Let this auspicious Day be ever sacred;
No Mourning, no Misfortunes happen on it;
Let it be mark'd for triumphs and rejoicings!
Let happy Lovers ever make it holy.
Choose it to bless their Hopes and crown their Wishes;
This happy Day that gives me my Calista.⁵

In the rest of the scene, Altamont and Horatio (Massinger's Romont) alternately recount the benefits conferred on them by Sciolto (Massinger's Rochfort). The whole of Altamont's earlier experiences is compressed into a few insignificant lines. The spectator, as a consequence, congratulates Altamont, but he neither pities nor admires him.

These structural changes, dictated by the early eighteenth-century neoclassic taste, produce, in *The Fair Penitent*, emphases of characterization which differ greatly from those of *The Fatal Dowry*. For one thing, since the regularization of the plot has vitiated sympathy for Altamont, Rowe is forced to depict his hero's marriage to Calista in an unfavorable light. Altamont takes his bride with the full knowledge that she is averse to marrying him. In his first meeting with Sciolto, one hears him complaining of her coolness toward him:

Oh! cou'd I hope there was one Thought of Altamont,
One kind Remembrance in Calista's Breast;
The Winds, with all their Wings, would be too slow
To bear me to her Feet. For Oh! my Father,
Amidst the Stream of Joy that bears me on,
Blest as I am, and honour'd in your Friendship,
There is one Pain that hangs upon my Heart.

(*Fair Penitent*, I, i, 95-101)

In Massinger, however, Charalois can have no inkling of Beaumelle's attitude because the marriage is planned at the couple's first meeting

⁵ *Fair Penitent* (London, 1703), I, i, 1-6.

and is immediately carried out. Beaumelle, too, gives her full assent to the proposed match, answering Charalois' query, "Fair Beaumelle, can you love me?" with the direct reply, "Yes, my Lord." This difference in the two women, an insincerity and hypocrisy in Beaumelle which is absent in the characterization of Calista, reveals Altamont as something of a fool where Charalois appears deserving of sympathy. Massinger had minimized criticism of his hero by rushing him into marriage and allowing nothing to happen which could reveal to him the nature of the woman he had married.

For another thing, Rowe, as a result of both the structural changes and the unsympathetic portrayal of Altamont, fails to make him the hero of the play. Before the tragedy ends, the emphasis has shifted from Altamont to Horatio and finally to Lothario. In *The Fatal Dowry* Romont had remained subordinate to Charalois; he had been the other half of a typical Renaissance friendship. The emphasis of the friendship is reversed in *The Fair Penitent*. Horatio is the rational, the stabilizing force for Altamont, who has no stability, whose feet come close to touching the earth only when he is guided by the advice of his friend. This dependence on another is not discernible in Charalois, who successfully follows his own line of reasoning when it differs from that of his friend Romont. Massinger had used the impetuous, fiery Romont to emphasize more keenly the quieter, more mature Charalois. In *The Fair Penitent* Altamont's irrational, emotional, and vacillating nature is underlined by the more mature and rational temperament of Horatio.

Still another factor, probably unconscious on Rowe's part, contributes to this final change in leading roles: Lothario has been painted in colors much too captivating. Dr. Johnson has described him as a man who "with gaiety which cannot be hated, and bravery which cannot be despised, retains too much of the spectator's kindness."⁶ His brilliancy, his fine appearance, his high spirit—all these characteristics are too much emphasized and create in the reader or spectator an impression antagonistic to the moral which Rowe intended his play to illustrate.

⁶ *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. G. B. Hill (Oxford, 1905), II, 67. Possibly Dr. Johnson had Richardson's *Lovell*, who is modeled on Lothario, in mind when he remarked in his *Essay on Modern Fiction*: "Many writers, for the sake of following nature, so mingle good and bad qualities in their principal personages, that they are both equally conspicuous; and as we accompany them through their adventures with delight, and are led by degrees to interest ourselves in their favor, we lose the abhorrence of their faults, because they do not hinder our pleasure, or, perhaps, regard them with some kindness, for being united with so much merit."

"There have been men indeed splendidly wicked, whose endowments threw a brightness on their crimes, and whom scarce any villainy made perfectly detestable, because they never could be wholly divested of their excellencies; but such have been in all ages the great corrupters of the world, and their resemblance ought no more to be preserved, than the art of murdering without pain." *Rambler*, No. 4, March 31, 1750, *Works of Samuel Johnson*, Literary Club Edition (New York, 1903), I, 24.

Since Rowe has thus undermined the sympathy of the spectator for Altamont and made the early emphasis fall on Horatio, one would expect that character to exemplify the virtues of a hero. However, he does not inherit many of the more appealing traits of his prototype, Massinger's Romont. As a matter of fact, Rowe, in reducing Massinger's twenty-one characters to eight, has transferred the fiery brilliance and impetuous nature of Romont to Lothario and, as a result, has thrown that character into striking contrast with the deliberate temper of the somewhat sententious Horatio.

Thus Rowe adapts the plot and action of Massinger's *Fatal Dowry*. The structural changes which he made were to bring the complex Elizabethan tragedy more into accord with the early eighteenth-century neoclassic preference for a single, simpler action and a somewhat liberal adherence to the unities of time and place. As a consequence of these changes he unsympathetically delineates Altamont and fails to make him the hero of *The Fair Penitent*. This departure from Massinger's characterization, however, springs also from Rowe's attempt to satisfy two other demands of early eighteenth-century taste: a strong infusion of morality in tragedy and an emphasis upon a pathetic heroine. The moral emphasis was his own contribution; the pathetic element he developed from the heroines of John Banks and in particular from those of Otway.

Otway's influence is also seen in Rowe's characterizations. These, perhaps more than any other changes Rowe made, illustrate most clearly the contrast between *The Fatal Dowry* and *The Fair Penitent*. Rowe's characters, especially Calista, point up the difference between the late Elizabethan sense of tragedy and that of the early eighteenth century.

The contrast is also apparent, to a lesser degree, in Lothario, who is Rowe's one outstanding contribution to Restoration libertinism in tragedy. Hobbes's materialistic philosophy, his agnosticism, and his distrust of religion had been crystallized into a system of negative ethics. It had further been adapted by Rochester, Sedley, and the court of Charles II into an active philosophy of life. Other historical factors contributed to this almost unmoral society, but its philosophic basis is in Hobbes. Furthermore, it was translated into the tragedy of the Restoration, explicitly in the characters of Lee's Nero, Crowne's Caligula, and Otway's Don John. In addition to any external resemblances to Massinger's Novall Junior, Lothario's motivation and characterization seem influenced by Otway's villainous princeling. Lothario is no historical royal Machiavellian as are Nero and Caligula; he is far more akin to Don John. Like Don John, he moves with a deliberate purpose throughout *The Fair Penitent*. The emotionalism and wavering feminine illogic which vitiates Polydore at the close of *The Orphan* and Altamont throughout *The Fair Penitent* does not render Lothario ineffectual. His action is moti-

vated by his character and philosophy, a motivation rare indeed in Rowe. In rebutting Horatio's condemnation of his conduct, Lothario makes clear his hedonistic attitude toward life:

By the Joys,
Which my Soul has uncontroll'd pursu'd,
I would not turn aside from my least Pleasure,
Tho' all thy Force were arm'd to bar my Way:
But like the Birds, great Nature's happy Commoners,
That haunt the Woods, in Meads, and flow'ry Gardens,
Rifle the Sweets, and taste the choicest Fruits,
Yet scorn to ask the Lordly Owner's Leave.⁷

(II, ii, 120-27)

Lothario is a picture of the Restoration rake. In his metamorphosis from Massinger's Novall Junior, he has become a hardened, purposeful destroyer of feminine chastity. Massinger had depicted Novall Junior as a youth in love with Beaumelle, and as a logical consequence of that love, desiring to possess her. When he learns that Rochfort has married Beaumelle to Charalois, he is saddened; then, in anger because he cannot harvest the benefits of his love, he turns on her maid, the bawd Bellapert:

To what purpose, trifler?
Can anything that thou can'st say make void
The marriage, or those pleasures but a dream,
Which Charalois, O Venus, hath enjoyed?⁸

Novall Junior has at least some sense of decency: he hesitates to take advantage of Charalois. Lothario, on the other hand, exults in the opportunity of proclaiming Altamont a cuckold:

Think'st thou I forg'd the Letter? Think so still,
'Till the broad Shame come staring in thy Face,
And Boys shall hoot the Cuckold as he passes.
(*Fair Penitent*, II, ii, 84-86)

He had no reason for ruining Altamont, although Rowe, borrowing from *The Fatal Dowry*, tries to make the marriage of Altamont to Calista the motivation of Lothario's hatred for the young nobleman. Unlike Novall Junior, he has never loved the girl whom he has seduced. He reveals this fact in describing the seduction to Rossano:

LOTHARIO: Ev'n all the live long Night we pass'd in Bliss,
In Ecstasies too fierce to last for ever;

⁷ Don John had similarly philosophized about his libertinism, the ruthlessness of which, however, had simmered down to little more than a belief in free love. Thomas Otway, *Don Carlos, Prince of Spain*, II, i, in *Works*, ed. Montague Summers (London, 1921), I, 85. Polydore, in *The Orphan*, begins his wayward career with this same libertine outlook on life. Before he finishes, however, he falls victim to Otway's pervasive sentimentalism and at the end sinks into its mire. Lothario differs greatly from these two literary ancestors in that he maintains a steady purpose throughout *The Fair Penitent*.

⁸ *Fatal Dowry*, III, i, in *Plays of Philip Massinger*, ed. W. Gifford (London, 1813), III, 438.

At length the Morn and cold Indifference came;
When fully sated with the luscious Banquet,
I hastily took Leave, and left the Nymph
To think on what was past, and sigh alone.

ROSSANO: You saw her soon again?

LOTHARIO: Too soon I saw her:
For Oh, that Meeting was not like the former;
I found my Heart no more beat high with Transport,
No more I sighed, and languished for Enjoyment:
'Twas past, and Reason took her Turn to reign,
While every Weakness fell before her Throne.

(I, i, 160-71)

That he did not love her is further corroborated by his response to Calista when she pleads with him to marry her:

Unmov'd, I begg'd her spare the ungrateful Subject,
Since I resolv'd, that Love and Peace of Mind
Might flourish long inviolate betwixt us,
Never to load it with the Marriage-Chain;
That I would still retain her in my Heart,
My ever-gentle Mistress and my Friend;
But for those other Names of Wife and Husband,
They only meant Ill-nature, Cares, and Quarrels.

(I, i, 187-94)

Novall Junior would not have seduced Beaumelle after her marriage had it not been for the constant urging of Bellapert, who points out how the seduction can now be carried out easily without detection. Marriage offered a protective cloak for amorous dalliance. Only after the way has been prepared by Bellapert, and only after the seduction, does Novall Junior speak as a libertine. His libertinism, however, is little more than the bravado of youth, an attempt to impress his youthful friends with his worldly outlook.

Wedlock! No; padlock, horselock:—I wear spurs
To keep it off my heels. . . .

but married once,

A man is stak'd or poun'd, and cannot graze
Beyond his own hedge.

(*Fatal Dowry*, IV, i, in *Plays*, p. 424)

Looking back to Otway's expression of libertinism, one discovers that to save Don John from the imputation of unmitigated villainy, the dramatist endowed him with engaging traits which entirely humanize him and lessen his evils in the eyes of the spectator. Rowe, to satisfy the taste of his audience, follows Otway in this technique rather than Massinger, and Lothario emerges a fascinating rascal whom few women could withstand. Novall Junior rises from Massinger's hand as a callow, almost despicable, court dandy. The dramatist takes great care that the auditor should receive this impression of the too wealthy youth. He is depicted as a fop, spending five hours on his toilet, quarreling with his tailor over the fit of his clothes, with

his barber over the curling of his hair, with a sycophant over the way the lace lies on his coat. One feels that his seduction of Beaumelle is his first experience of this kind. Lothario, on the contrary, is a finely drawn portrait of evil, so attractively presented that he appeals to the spectator despite all the urgings of conscience and experience to withstand his compelling charm.

The eighteenth century is not to be criticized for taking into its lexicon the term *gay Lothario* which has persevered to our own twentieth century. Nor is Rowe to be criticized too severely for overreaching himself in creating Lothario. The characterization is largely the result of Rowe's following the taste of his time. Lothario emerges as the dominant male figure in the play partly because of the structural changes, wrought in Rowe's adaptation, which invalidate Altamont as the equal of Calista. In Massinger's original, Novall Junior is the foil, the contrast of Charalois. *The Fatal Dowry* is Charalois' play, not Novall Junior's or Beaumelle's. They are necessary, but only contributing parts of the tragic sequence in that play. *The Fair Penitent* is not Altamont's play; it is Calista's. Lothario, therefore, must be strengthened to motivate her downfall in a convincing manner. This shift in character emphasis is necessary in *The Fair Penitent*, because Rowe is catering to the early eighteenth-century desire for a strong love element in its tragedy.⁹ This element is minimized in *The Fatal Dowry*: Charalois loves Beaumelle, but his love for her only indirectly brings about his tragedy. *The Fair Penitent*, in contrast, is built directly upon love, a theme seldom used in Elizabethan drama for tragic motivation. In addition to this, Rowe is writing his play with a definite moral in view: Calista is a woman who loved well but not wisely. He makes her step from the path of virtue easy and to some extent a logical action springing from the meeting of the love-sick girl and the fascinating ne'er-do-well. The feminine part of his audience, while satisfied with the love theme, would at the same time be warned of its pitfalls.

As Lothario is unlike any other Rowean male character, Calista is unlike any other Rowean female character. Occupying the position of protagonist in *The Fair Penitent*, she illustrates the most drastic change in the tragic sense from Massinger's day to Rowe's. Elizabethan protagonists were masculine; *The Fair Penitent* poses a feminine protagonist. The play is Rowe's first trial in a tragic genre, which, in *Jane Shore*, he names the "she-tragedy."

⁹ That the audience demanded love scenes is substantiated by the fact that the adapters of Shakespeare included them in their recastings of the earlier plays. Tate's *Lear* had supplied an amatory relationship between Edgar and Cordelia which was still so popular by the third quarter of the century that even Garrick was not able to omit it; Shadwell's *Timon of Athens* gave Timon two mistresses, one of whom deserts him and the other remains faithful in troublous days; Sheffield's *Julius Caesar* mixes love and civil war in Rome equally; Dryden had woven a love motif through the unrelieved grimness of *Oedipus*; Addison's *Cato* is stuffed with amatory speeches which are entirely irrelevant; and Colley Cibber's *Henry IV* adds a love story.

Two factors in Rowe's audience explain his experimentation and success with this species of drama. One is the fact that the early eighteenth century had a large proportion of middle-class women in it. Rowe was consciously writing to these "fair Ones who in Judgement sit," as his prologue states. The other constituent is a concomitant of this feminine protagonist but is more complex and has far-reaching consequences. It develops from the age's predilection for pathos, a dramatic taste formed by the successful tragedies of Otway, who slighted his masculine characters in order to create in detail his pathetic women. His males can be explained also by the fact that they mirror their creator's vacillating temperament, to a large degree the result of his own tormented love life. They blow hot and cold, fierce and quiet, tempestuous and passive, loving and hating intensely their beloved; they are emotional creatures, dangling by the whims of their women, dominated by and reflecting the changeable moods of the latter. Rowe's males are essentially of the same nature as Otway's, but their masculine qualities are still further reduced. Altamont exhibits an effeminate, whimpering, cowardly attitude toward life. Throughout the play, he is on the verge of tears; he shrinks and complains each time he faces an unpleasant situation. It is this facet of his personality which probably led Theophilus Cibber to state: "The character of Altamont is one of those which the present players observe is the hardest to represent of any in the drama; there is a kind of meanness in him, joined with an unsuspecting honest heart, and a doting fondness for the false fair one, that is very difficult to illustrate."¹⁰

The pathetic women of Otway and John Banks appealed to the sentimentality of the women in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century audience. In addition to this, these dramatists had reduced Elizabethan masculinity to a late seventeenth-century effeminacy. The Elizabethan protagonist had power and impressiveness generated by an understanding of his own weakness. Altamont, patterned on Otway's male characterizations, neither recognizes his weakness nor understands the conflict. He manifests no intelligence; he is an irrational creature, capable only of feeling; he is essentially feminine, not masculine.

Altamont is, therefore, scarcely reminiscent of Charalois. The way in which the two men decide that their wives must die clearly illustrates the difference in the handling of their characterizations. Altamont wavers, then agrees with his father-in-law Sciolto that there is no alternative. Later, when he meets Calista, though she has been anything but conciliatory and though he has blamed her for his troubles, he is willing to die with her. Such indecision is far from the resolute Charalois who, loving Beaumelle as greatly as Altamont did

¹⁰ *Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, to the Time of Dean Swift* (London, 1753), III, 277.

Calista, recognized social order, personal dignity, and the penalties imposed upon transgressors of either. Altamont has no comprehension of such realities. He can only weakly assent to Sciolto's decision. Neither does he think consistently about Calista's infidelity. He is not rational. One jot of circumspection in his mind would have negated his tragedy. Altamont is only a pallid reflection of Charalois, a pastel facsimile resulting from Rowe's following Otway's masculine characterizations and elevating Calista to the position of prominence in the tragedy, in order to give his audience what they desired.

Calista, therefore, stands in vivid contrast to this weak man. Her resemblance to Massinger's Beaumelle is slight. Nor does she show much kinship to Otway's Monimia or Belvidera, as would be expected from the sentimental and emotional treatment with which Rowe bathed the play. In her general philosophy of life, Calista is not too far from the heroines of John Ford. She is a dominating woman who believes that love is an all-sufficient justification; that the physical satisfaction of that love needs no defense even though it runs counter to the moral standards of her day. She is naïve in the face of Lothario's sophistication and worldly wisdom, a creature of feeling whose emotionalism is her only justification for action which violates the rules and conventions she is incapable of recognizing.

The critics who attacked Calista were more discerning than Rowe. The title of the play, *The Fair Penitent*, is a misnomer. Calista evidences sorrow, but at no time does that sorrow reach a penitence which, in turn, should effect a spiritual regeneration or purification. To the end she remains a determined, hardened woman who has played a dangerous game with love and lost. Losing the game, she accepts the inevitable decision of death unflinchingly and shows no signs of a deeper or more noble character as a consequence of the experience. This hardness of character is perhaps seen to best advantage after the disclosure of her wrongdoing, when, confronted by Altamont, she reveals no true penitence:

I know thee well, thou art the injur'd Altamont;
Thou com'st to urge me with the Wrongs I've done thee;
But know I stand upon the Brink of Life,
And in a Moment mean to set me free
From Shame, and thy Upbraiding. (V, i, 169-73)

This flintiness, in contrast, is not characteristic of Massinger's Beaumelle. She is truly penitent, and though death is also the penalty for her sin, she meets it, not with Calista's stoic belief that it must come at one time or another, but with the attitude that it is a just atonement for her error. Her pathetic appeal for Charalois' forgiveness is simple and sincere:

I dare not move you
 To hear me speak. I know my fault is far
 Beyond the qualification of excuse;
 That 'tis not fit for me to hope, or you
 To think of mercy: only I presume
 To entreat you would be pleased to look upon
 My sorrow for it, and believe these tears
 Are the true children of my grief, and not
 A woman's cunning.

... Yet you shall find,
 Though I was bold enough to be a strumpet,
 I dare not yet live one. Let those famed matrons,
 That are canonized worthy of our sex,
 Transcend me in their sanctity of life;
 I yet will equal them in dying nobly,
 Ambitious of no honour after life,
 But that, when I am dead, you will forgive me.
 (*Fatal Downy*, IV, iv, in *Plays*, p. 438)

The spectator feels that, had Beaumelle lived, she would have emerged triumphant over this early downfall; therefore, her tragic end arouses pity. Watching Calista's undeviating character, the spectator feels no pity at her death, because her life would have been a series of such episodes or, at least, a continuation of the liaison with Lothario. In several instances, Rowe's attempts to portray sorrow in Calista resolve themselves not into penitence for the deed but into a lachrymose petulance because the affair was uncovered and got out of her control. It is pride and vanity, not penitence, which makes her say:

For 'tis the solemn Counsel of my Soul,
 Never to live with public Loss of Honour:
 'Tis fix'd to die, rather than bear the Insolence
 Of each affected She that tells my Story,
 And blesses her good Stars that she is virtuous.
 To be a Tale for Fools! Scorn'd by the Women,
 And pity'd by the Men! Oh, insupportable!
 (*Fair Penitent*, II, i, 31-37)

It is again not penitence, but pride and vanity which color her statement to Altamont, when he comes seeking an explanation for her conduct:

Think'st thou I mean to live, to be forgiv'n,
 Oh! thou hast known but little of *Calista*:
 If thou hadst never heard my Shame, if only
 The midnight Moon, and silent Stars had seen it,
 I wou'd not bear to be reproach'd by them,
 But dig down deep to find a Grave beneath,
 And hide me from their Beams. . . .
 No *Altamont*; my Heart, that scorn'd thy Love,
 Shall never be indebted to thy Pity;
 Thus torn, defac'd, and wretched as I seem,
 Still I have something of *Scioltto's* Virtue.
 (IV, i, 124-30, 158-61)

When confronted by her father's righteous anger at her behavior, she becomes defiant, and her speech is clipped:

Then I am doom'd to live and bear your Triumph?
To groan beneath your Scorn and fierce Upbraidings,
At Morn, and Noon, and Night told over me,
Lest my Remembrance might grow pitiful,
And grant a Moment's Interval of Peace;
Is this, is this the Mercy of a Father?
I only beg to die, and he denies me.

(IV, i, 189-95)

Rowe doubtless intended the climax of the play, set in the gruesome charnel house, to prove Calista's repentance and to evoke pity for her. She sits beside Lothario's corpse and reads the Bible, hoping to induce penitence.

Sure the Book was left
To teach me something;—for instruction then—
He teaches holy Sorrow, and Contrition,
And Penitence.

(V, i, 5-8)

Such a contrite heart is not to be hers, however, and she throws away the book, saying,

Is it become an Art then?
A trick that lazy, dull, luxurious Gownmen
Can teach us to do over? I'll no more on't.

(V, i, 8-10)

After glancing at the bones and skeletons about her, she becomes quiet, seeing Lothario's corpse, and the tenor of her thoughts indicates why she cannot be repentant:

But here's a Sight that's terrible indeed;
Is this that haughty, gallant, gay *Lothario*,
That dear Perfidious—Ah! How pale he looks!

(V, i, 18-20)

Thus, Rowe's efforts to present her as soft and pitiable result only in a forced sentimentalism. The emotions imposed upon her in no way correspond to the Calista that lurks beneath the sorrowful phrasings of her speeches.

Rowe's characterizations, while largely derivative from Otway, thus reflect the early eighteenth-century taste in tragedy. In catering to the women in that audience, he centered his attention on Calista and made her the dominant figure of the play. Although he failed in his attempt to surround her with an aura of pathos, the attempt itself indicates that the audience preferred this sentimental atmosphere. Having postulated Calista as the heroine of the "she-tragedy," Rowe was forced to reduce the virile qualities of the masculine figures who were influenced by her, with the exception of Lothario, who remains strong in order to emphasize the moral which Rowe intended *The Fair Penitent* to illustrate.

This note of militant morality is Rowe's contribution to eighteenth-

century tragic development. The contribution, however, is not unique inasmuch as the changing times demanded its inclusion in the contemporary drama. It had made a faltering debut eight years earlier in Colley Cibber's comedy *Love's Last Shift*. Rowe's voice, however, is the first in tragedy to enunciate this theme. In conceiving tragedy as a medium for morality, Rowe is once again following public opinion. The Revolution of 1688, supported by the middle class, had inaugurated a reform movement which quickly became a plank in the Whig platform. Jeremy Collier's attack, *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, published a scant ten years later, proves the rapid success of this social and moral reform movement. Indeed, Collier's vituperation would have gone unheeded as a Puritan's inbred dislike of the stage had it not voiced the popular demand of the growing middle class for reformation. Rowe's audience, particularly the "fair Ones who in Judgement sit," were largely from this stratum of society. Hence, *The Fair Penitent* not only reflects this demand for new moral standards but also contributes to the establishment of those standards.

Unfortunately, the moral tone, so obvious in *The Fair Penitent*, is not well integrated in the tragedy; it is superimposed on the material adapted from Massinger, who certainly had not written *The Fatal Dowry* for didactic purposes. Massinger had simply dramatized the story of a man who, through marriage with a woman about whom he knew little, had involved himself in tragic consequences. Rowe, in contrast, deliberately writes his tragedy as a dramatic exemplum for his audience.

To point up this new moral note, Rowe uses the same device which Cibber had employed in *Love's Last Shift* and which Steele was to use to greater advantage the following year in *The Tender Husband*: an unashamed celebration of domestic bliss. Rowe introduces this domestic sentiment in a twofold manner. The hero's confidant, a bachelor in *The Fatal Dowry*, is happily married in *The Fair Penitent* to Lavinia, a model of wifely perfection. Praise of true marriage is also inversely implied in the unhappy marriage of Altamont and Calista. The contrast of the two couples points the moral of the play.

None of this professional moralizing mars Massinger's play. *The Fatal Dowry* ended as it had begun: quiet, pathetic, restrained—merely the dramatization of a story. The curtain falls in *The Fair Penitent* on a sententious speech by Horatio, admonishing the audience that

By such Examples are we taught to prove
The Sorrows that attend unlawful Love;
Death, or some worse Misfortune, soon divide
The injur'd Bridegroom from his guilty Bride:
If you would have the Nuptial Union last,
Let Vertue be the Bond that ties it fast.

(V, i, 289-94)

When weighed with Massinger, Rowe is found wanting in his representation of human nature and in his ability to perceive underlying moral principles, but possibly it was precisely these things which assured his success. The tragic sense had changed. Rowe was not plagiarizing Massinger; he was adapting him to the taste of the early eighteenth-century theatergoer. The structural changes in the play show the new preference for neoclassic simplicity; the unruffled, flowing blank verse reflects the placidity and refinement of the era; the modification of characterization reveals the influence of Otavian pathos and that of the new feminine element in the audience, which together produce English dramatic literature's first "she-tragedy"; and the veneer of impeccable moral sentiment is evidence of the rise of a bourgeois morality which will shackle tragedy for more than a century to follow.

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FRESH LIGHT ON WILLIAM COWPER

By BERNARD MARTIN

The Stricken Deer, by Lord David Cecil, is not the only modern biography of William Cowper to enjoy a popular success. Indeed, Cowper seems to fascinate a reading public which seldom turns over the pages of his poems, and never reads his translation of Homer. It is the character of Cowper which retains its freshness after one hundred and fifty years; and our knowledge of his character comes mainly from his correspondence. Cowper's letters show a sympathetic awareness of the quiet life in an English country town in the second half of the eighteenth century; but their charm rests on the gradual revelation of the writer's mind: the activity of a life that was outwardly uneventful. Southey used them extensively, and most modern writers follow Southey, even to repeating his errors.

Unfortunately, most of the letters written to Cowper were destroyed, so that Southey was moved to say, "They whose researches have been among such documents know how imperfect the information is that can be gathered from a one-sided correspondence"; but thirty-two letters from John Newton to Cowper have been locked away in a lawyer's safe these many years. None of Cowper's biographers has seen them, although extracts from some were quoted in a little-known *Life of John Newton*, published in 1868. A few months ago six of these letters were sent to a London Saleroom. They were bought by the British Museum, and are now catalogued as Egerton MS 3662.

These six letters are of general interest, including an eye-witness account of the Gordon Riots, an opinion on young William Wilberforce, and an accurate forecast of events in the war with the American colonies. Newton had spent several months in Carolina in the year 1749, and had a better understanding of life in America than most Englishmen. He hated all wars and expressed deep sympathy with the colonists whose towns and villages were destroyed. In this short article only those references which throw fresh light on Cowper and his friendship with Newton are tabulated.

AUGUST 18, 1767:

Newton has been blamed for choosing "damp and gloomy" Orchard Side for Cowper to live in at Olney. This letter shows (1) that Newton suggested a house at Emberton; (2) that Orchard Side was the choice of Mary Newton, who, said her husband, "thinks it might be made as good a house as this we live in, at least"; (3) that Newton invited Cowper, Mrs. Unwin, and her daughter, to stay at the Vicarage so that they could decide on a house for themselves. An unpublished diary confirms that they did so.

JUNE 10, 1780:

Mentions common friends who were under suspicion of being concerned in the Gordon Riots. Announces the publication of Martin Madan's *Thelephthora*, which so upset Cowper. Cowper knew how the Newtons delighted in comic stories and had written to Mary about a runaway horse. Newton said, "We more than smiled at your account of F. Freeman's horse, the faster he ran, the more the panniers clatter'd, the more they clatter'd the faster he ran." But after laughing, Newton turned serious, as was his way. "The close of the story made me serious. How many hundred miles has my Dear rid behind me in time past, without breaking a collar bone. Mercy guarded our steps." Cowper called Mary Newton's niece "the laughing lady," and from this letter it seems the child had just returned to London from a visit to Orchard Side.

OCTOBER 21, 1780:

Cowper wrote sometimes of his melancholia. In this letter Newton replies to Cowper's complaining. "You know wherein we differ and I wait for the hour when we shall be of one mind, not, I am persuaded by my acceding to your present views, but by a happy change on your part." Newton took the same line as did Mrs. Unwin—that Cowper's delusion could not be removed by argument because it was irrational, and so in correspondence with him the subject should be ignored or mentioned only briefly, and Cowper should be encouraged to believe that "a Season of clear sunshine" would return in God's good time. This is not to say that Newton's letters were always consistent, or that all his efforts to cure Cowper would be approved by a modern psychologist. This letter says that Mary "is gone upon a trudge to find out the Newspaper Monger," on Cowper's behalf. The postscript might have been written by Cowper. "Two ducks arriv'd last night, they were I doubt not acquaintance of yours, but being dead they could not tell us a word about you." Newton indulged in this kind of humor more frequently after he became Cowper's friend, but there are instances of it in earlier letters.

DECEMBER 8, 1780:

This letter reveals that Newton arranged for Cowper's polemic poem, *Anti-Thelephthora*, to be published anonymously, "your secret is lock'd up in a strong box of which only Mrs. Newton, Mr. Johnson (the publisher) and myself have the key." A fortnight later Cowper sent Newton *The Progress of Error*, remarking, "Don't be alarmed, I ride Pegasus with a curb." This was meant to make Newton smile, and no doubt did so, but Southey—who did not know *Anti-Thelephthora* had already been published—threw doubt on how far Newton encouraged Cowper's poetry, saying, "he seems to have thought that Mr. Newton might disapprove it." The comment shows how far Southey was from understanding the Cowper-Newton friendship. This letter contains a message from Mary Newton, who shared Cowper's gardening enthusiasm, "My dear bids me tell you there is advertised a sovereign medicine and poyson, in shape of a powder, which cures houses and gardens, by killing all the insects and vermin which annoy them:

All Ants and Bugs,
All Beetles and Slugs,
All Earwigs and Weavils,
And such kind of evils."

A postscript says, "arriv'd to-day at Hoxton—Mr. Goose with a note, thanks to Mrs. Unwin for both."

JANUARY 22, 1781:

Cowper complained of errors in the first proofs of his poems. Newton's letter begins, "I delivered your reproof to Mr. Johnson, he said he would show it to Mr. Alterfortheworse." Of *The Progress of Error*, Newton wrote, "I believe I have already told you, or at least attempted to tell you, how much I am pleased with it."

FEBRUARY 3, 1781:

This letter reports Newton's attempts to expedite the publication of Cowper's first volume of poems.

These six letters are insufficient to convey anything like a full idea of Newton's character or the quality of his friendship, but they will suffice to correct a few errors. It may, or may not, be true that Cowper was first drawn to Newton by Newton's religion; it is certainly clear from these letters that the friendship was bound also with other cords. Both men were like minded in their sense of humor, though Cowper had the lighter touch; and the poet's biographers have ignored completely the importance of Mary Newton's influence.

Writers who have been unable to resist the rather obvious temptation to picture Newton as a foil to the gentle Cowper have certainly blundered; and even such erudite essays as that on Cowper in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* need revision in the light of these letters.

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BROWNING'S TEXTS IN GALATIANS AND DEUTERONOMY

By ROBERT B. PEARSALL

In a recent number of the *Modern Language Quarterly* Professor Arnold Williams attempted an identification of the "great text" mentioned in the seventh stanza of Browning's *Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister*:

There's a great text in Galatians,
Once you trip on it, entails
Twenty-nine distinct damnations,
One sure, if another fails:
If I trip him just a-dying,
Sure of heaven as sure can be,
Spin him round and send him flying
Off to hell, a Manichee?

Professor Williams very rightly decided that some point of doctrine, not of morals, was involved; and accordingly he very properly rejected the text (Galatians 5:19-21) proposed by the majority of Browning's commentators.¹ He also, this time mistakenly, rejected the text (3:10) proposed by Berdoe.² The text he proposed as an alternative was defended only by a speculation that its seeming difficulty was enough to make it appropriate, by a special definition of *damnation*, by a refusal to look through "the vast mass of theological literature" for Browning's twenty-nine particular curses, and by a guess that Browning, knowing little divinity, invented both the text and the panel of damnations. Actually Browning had a real text in mind, knew enough divinity to realize that twenty-nine specific curses hung upon it, and since it dealt with the ordinary Pauline doctrine of faith over works, probably expected his readers to know at least roughly where it was to be found.

In the book of Galatians Paul was concerned with explaining to a backsliding congregation that since the advent of Jesus the doctrine of works as exemplified by the Mosaic laws had been supplanted by the doctrine of faith. Knowing the extreme difficulty (even impossibility?) of obedience to every particular of the great law, he reminded the Galatians in passing that partial observance of it was not enough, that persons recognizing that it bound them at all were perforce bound to obey every part of it. The alternative was the damnation attached to the law. And so, said Paul, the law itself was a curse, a bondage, at best a schoolmaster (3:10, 3:24, *passim*); Jesus came at

¹ See "Browning's 'Great Text in Galatians,'" *MLQ*, X (1949), 89-90, note 1.

² *Browning Cyclopaedia* (New York, 1898), pp. 473-74.

last to redeem or release men from the law (3:13, 3:25, *passim*); and justification or salvation thereafter lay in faith in Jesus himself, not in works or the law (3:2, 3:11, 3:26, *passim*).

Though admittedly oversimplified, this résumé will be found to agree with both Catholic and Protestant interpretations of Galatians.³ Its pertinence to the stanza in question can be seen at once. The bad monk knows that Brother Lawrence takes pride in the work of his hands; he hopes that Lawrence can be made to believe the work helpful towards salvation; he assumes from a passage in Galatians that any reliance upon works will result in sure damnation. His "great text" is Galatians 3:10: "For as many as are under the works of the law are under the curse: for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them." As marginal references in both the Douay and King James versions have pointed out for several hundred years, Paul is quoting from Deuteronomy 27:28. The awful terms of the curse itself appear in the next chapter of the same book. There Moses or his spokesman sets forth one by one the twenty-nine distinct damnations, neatly divided into twenty-nine verses (28:16-44),⁴ which are to fall on persons who accept the law but do not obey it. Not all of them can fall on Lawrence, of course (verses 30 and 32, for example, deal in part with cuckoldry and the loss of children, ills to which Lawrence is immune), but one will be sure, although another fails. Unfortunately for the bad monk's purpose, all the damnations are of a kind that can only be inflicted on a living man. However, he knows too that Manichean heretics rejected the doctrine of faith (calling Jesus a false messiah), and relied for salvation on a strict ascetic system, or works. Thus, if upon the point of death Lawrence could be "tripped" into an admission that he justified himself by his good works, he would contradict the Pauline doctrine, unwittingly affirm the contrary doctrine of Mani, and straightway go to hell for it.

From the other stanzas of the poem it does not appear that the soliloquizer is meant to be an intellectual giant. If the explication given here is correct, the eighth stanza rejoins its context and offers, without complications or left-over inventions of Browning, only the simple-minded hope of a jealous weakling that a good man's pride in good works can be twisted to make his life a long hell and his death

³ See Dummelow's or any Protestant commentary, *s.v.* Galatians; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, *ibid.*; New Test., tr. Msgr. Knox (New York, 1944), p. 400, note; etc.

⁴ Although Berdcoe's language is equivocal, he doubtless recognized that in Deuteronomy 28 just twenty-nine verses were given to the damnation. See him, *op. cit.* I suspect that many readers who followed his advice and went counting to Deuteronomy were led astray by verses 45-68, which read hastily seem like more subjunctive curses. But, as all commentaries point out, the direction shifts after verse 44. What follows is not conditional, but is a prophecy of evils that will certainly fall on the Jews. Compare 15 with 45 for tense and mood.

an eternal one. Needless to say, the explication sorts well with Browning's notions of the good and bad in religion; and since good poems have little to do with circumstantial data not justified by special considerations, it sorts well also with the universally admitted merits of Browning's *Soliloquy*.

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AMERICA'S "MEDIUM" POETS

By ROBERT D. RHODE

Spiritualist cults have exerted a pronounced influence on the growth of American culture. During the middle part of the nineteenth century, when psychical research joined with religious sentimentalism, the preoccupation of the American public with spiritualistic phenomena probably reached its peak. Various shadings of hypocrisy on the part of the practitioners were matched by various degrees of credulity and skepticism on the part of the lay observers. Hardly any social or cultural group escaped embroilment in some form of occult mysticism or supersensory communication.

An especially virile form of spiritualism—and the most extraordinary for the literary historian—was the cult of spiritually communicated literature, especially a body of poetry communicated to the world by the spirits of departed authors through their living mediums. The passionate controversies that arose over the authenticity of such communications not only stimulated the rise of analytical criticism but also furnished interesting addenda to the posthumous reputations of several major English and American poets. The fate which poets and poetry met at the hands of the spiritualists is a curious little chapter in the literary history of America.¹

On Thursday afternoon, November 24, 1853, Thomas Lake Harris (b. 1823),² obscure inventor and literary hack, visited his friend, Dr. Isaac Harrington, in Brooklyn, Long Island. While the two men were engaged in casual conversation, Harris, according to Harrington and two other witnesses, suddenly assumed a dazed expression and fell into a sort of trance or "magnetic sleep." While his body was gripped with muscular tensions, deep vocal sounds that were foreign to his usual manner of speaking began to flow from his lips. A guest, much astonished, had the presence of mind to set down Harris' solemn words, which took the form of prophetic verse:

... Come what may, thy lost is blest
Beyond the common fate of man below;
The tides of Heaven's great purpose in thee flow. . . .
(*Epic*, p. 23)

¹ It is not the writer's aim in this short sketch to open anew the nineteenth-century debate concerning the integrity of spiritualist poetry and—as a consequence—of spiritualism in general. It is doubtful whether any of the poetry noted herein merits serious study from any point of view. As literary curiosity the phenomenon is interesting. It has historical significance as a reflection of the mentality of the times, of the enthusiasm and directions of intellectual inquiry, and of the tactics of popular sensationalism.

² For a full account of Harris' seances, see S. B. Brittan's Introduction to T. H. Harris, *Epic of the Starry Heavens* (New York, 1854), pp. i-xiv, and Appendixes A, B, and C, pp. 199-210; also Brittan's Introduction to Harris' *Lyric of the Golden Age* (Glasgow, 1870), pp. v-xxiii.

The strange seance lasted about an hour. On regaining consciousness, Harris professed not only great amazement at his involuntary contact with the spirit world, but also complete ignorance of the context of the lines he had uttered. Within the next few days he had other seizures; these continued until he had unwittingly dictated, with incredible speed, a unified epic of some 4,000 rhythmical, rhymed lines.³

In the same year, and under very similar circumstances, an odd volume of verse appeared under the title *Voices from Spirit Land*. The author—or medium, as he preferred to be called—was young Nathan Francis White,⁴ a New England farmer's 27-year-old son, ignorant, "simple-minded," and "without imagination or ideality." One evening, while resting from arduous physical labors, Nathan was taken with "a slowly-growing rigidity, deathlike pallor, spasmodic tremors, and icy-cold sweat gathering like 'beaded dew.'" Though practically illiterate, White produced during numerous such fits, not only long English poems, but also lines of German, Hebrew, and Arabic.

The remarkable adventures of Harris and White were by no means unique in America of the 1850's and later. Lizzie Doten,⁵ Carlos D. Stuart,⁶ S. M. Peters,⁷ Sarah Helen Whitman,⁸ Mattie Hull,⁹ and other little-known people dallied with departed literary spirits. Like White, most of these mediums professed ignorance of literature. As a rule they could not supply the names of the spirits whose communications they professed to receive, but now and then they "admitted" having recognized the voices of such notables as Shakespeare, Shelley, Keats, Byron, and Poe. Reviewers and editors frequently speculated—more or less seriously—about the true sources of "medium" poetry. Experts from the universities were called upon to interpret strange manuscripts in such rare languages as Bengalee, Sanskrit, and Malay. The American Spiritualist magazine, *The Shekinah*,¹⁰ first printed in 1852, fanned the fires of curiosity and controversy. Most of the prominent linguistic and literary scholars of the day were in some way drawn into the fad, along with the scientists and clergymen who were even more deeply involved.

The literary ignorance of the medium was widely regarded as sufficient evidence of good faith. Lizzie Doten, a frequent and popular

³ Time of composition, as alleged by Editor Brittan: 26 hours, 16 minutes. The possibilities of deception on the part of Brittan, Harris, and others are obvious.

⁴ See D. C. Stuart, Introduction to N. F. White, *Voices from Spirit Land* (New York, 1854), pp. v-xii.

⁵ See "A Word to the World," an introduction to *Poems from Inner Life* (Boston, 1864). This volume went through ten editions by 1871.

⁶ *Ianthe: and Other Poems* (New York, 1843).

⁷ See Brittan, Introduction to Harris' *Epic*, p. vi.

⁸ *Hours of Life and Other Poems* (Providence, 1853); also *Poems* (Boston, 1879).

⁹ *Wayside Jottings* (Des Moines, 1888).

¹⁰ New York, Partridge and Brittan.

mouthpiece for the post-mortem poetry of Shakespeare, Shelley, Burns, Poe, and others, had read "very little poetry in the course of my life, and have never made the style of any author a study" (*Poems*, p. xxi). Like Peters, she was able to give the authorship of a poem only in case the spirit-author had been considerate enough to reveal his name. The wary Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican*, in spite of its alleged hostility to spiritualism, conceded that Lizzie's public utterance of "Resurrexi," reputed to be from the spirit of Poe, was "a very singular and mysterious production." For "Miss Doten is, apparently, incapable of originating such a poem. . . ."¹¹ And one of Doten's contemporaries, Nathan White, was said by a friend to be "as ignorant of bookmaking as a new-born child" (*Voices*, p. xii).

The speed of delivery and the unusual circumstances under which the "medium" poetry was produced also served to disarm the critics. The Philadelphia *Daily Register* considered Harris' *Epic* to be unequaled by any other literary production in the world in "the extraordinary rapidity of its composition."¹² Editor Brittan, though hardly a disinterested critic, believed that there "is no recorded instance of the composition of a work of equal magnitude in so short a time" (*Epic*, p. vii). Although Medium Doten testified that the poetic communications did not come to her "like lightning flashes" (*Poems*, p. xviii), she did deliver many of them impromptu from the lecture platform. Before a paying audience she could generally summon the spirit of Poe or Shelley to utter a few poetic words through her lips. The simple Mattie Hull, on the other hand, had no such power. The inconsiderate spirit-poets often made her write, against her own wishes, "on the cars, in meetings, at the wash-tub, or wherever she has chanced to be at the time the 'fit' has taken her . . ." (*Wayside Jottings*, p. xiv). Thomas Harris' trance utterances often occurred at the most inconvenient times, but apparently always in the presence of witnesses. White was strictly an "involuntary medium," writing only when the spirit "takes possession of his hand and tongue, speaking whether he will or no" (*Voices*, p. viii).

Another evidence of the "genuineness" of "medium" poetry was the apparent honesty of the mediums, who generously refused to claim the work as their own. Although Doten referred to herself as a "kindred spirit" of Poe and others, she disclaimed any credit in the creative process. She scrupulously credited her poems to their spirit-authors whenever she knew their names. Hoping, in a similar way, to deny originality in Harris' *Epic*, Editor Brittan wrote:

He [Harris] cannot be so utterly regardless of his own reputation and interest, to say nothing of honor and conscience, as to willingly resort to the most palpable hypocrisy and falsehood, merely to deceive his best friends and to ROB HIMSELF OF THE CREDIT OF ITS AUTHORSHIP. (p. xii)

¹¹ Review of "Resurrexi," as quoted in a preface to the poem in *Poems*, p. 104.

¹² Quoted in S. B. Brittan, Introduction to *Lyric of the Golden Age* (Glasgow, 1870), p. ix.

The chief evidence the "medium" poets cited to support their claims of supersensory communications was based on comparative analysis. The poetry in question, they insisted, possessed easily recognizable stylistic qualities of the alleged authors, now deceased. Some of the poetry, regardless of its merit, did bear a striking resemblance to the recognized work of well-known authors. For example, Doten "received" the following stanza from Poe:

From the throne of Life Eternal,
 From the home of love supernal,
 Where the angel feet make music over all the starry floor—
 Mortals, I have come to meet you,
 Come with words of peace to greet you,
 And to tell you of the story that is mine forevermore.
 (*Poems*, pp. 104-05)

Harris' rendition of Shelley includes these lines:

Sit in thy spherical chariot, Love, with me,
 Sweet empress whom delighted I adore,
 Pouring thy joy in song; for lo, we see
 From Heaven descend God's Essence man to free;
 And Atlas, type of human nature, throw
 The ponderous orb of death and slavery
 From his bent form, that crouched beneath its woe;—
 And Earth to Heaven's embrace espoused and queenly go.
 (*Lyric of the Golden Age*, p. 174)

Apparent discrepancies were sometimes explained as the result of a work's having been channeled through an inadequate medium. Doten described herself as "a harp in the hands of superior powers." The melodies coming through her were "of necessity modified by the nature and character of the instrument" (*Poems*, p. xxii). She complained that her rendition of Shakespeare's poems was not up to par: the great master would have fared better had he used "a stronger and more effective instrument upon which to pour his inspiration. His power," she admitted, "is more than I can bear." Likewise Harris' editor, in accounting for uncharacteristic elements in Harris renditions of Shelley, Byron, Rousseau, and Coleridge, explained that a spirit message "would naturally and necessarily accommodate itself to the channel through which it was permitted to flow" (*Epic*, p. xiv), just as Holy Writ bears the imprint of its earthly scribes.

Changes in the literary style of poets after death were further explained by the assertion that authors continued to develop their art during their residence in the spirit world. Doten took particular pains to correct the common fallacy that the growth of a poet's creative powers ceases at his death. As a matter of fact, she insisted, the poet in the spirit world has "opportunities for spiritual development which far transcend those of earth" (*Poems*, p. xxii). Her favorite poet, Edgar Allan Poe, she explained, "has 'gone up higher' in the ways of Eternal Progress" and therefore will "no longer manifest himself as

he *was*," but "as he *is*." On earth he was a mere "meteor light," but now he is "a star of ever-increasing magnitude" (*Poems*, p. xxiv).

Throughout the century and later, the little trance-speaker and -writer cult fought its battles against its enemies in editorial offices, in the universities, on the bench, in the church. When the Iowa literary medium, Mattie Hull, visited a New England village in the 1880's to hold a public "discussion" with churchmen, her husband "was knocked down with a brick and supposed to be wounded beyond the possibility of recovery" (*Wayside Jottings*, p. xvi). While the American Society of Psychical Research, founded in 1884, was engaged in substantiating the claims of various spiritualist cults, other committees of the nation's intellectuals sought to undermine the public confidence in all unscientific or pseudo-scientific phenomena. In the clash of top-notch brains that ensued, one of Harvard's chief scientists, William James, surprisingly came to the defense of the spiritualists.

Unlike most of the occult societies of the time, the "medium" poets could rest their case upon almost unassailable tradition. Since the beginning of literature, literary genius has claimed special inspiration. The Greeks had invoked the Muses, Christians the Holy Ghost, English Lake poets an "unseen power" or "the spirit of beauty." Thus the spirit-writers could claim an inspiration which was more than ordinary—an inspiration transcending mortality and matching the creative genius of antiquity.

Even when science had broken the composure of the medium poets and their supporters, they still had another card to play. They parried the attack of their enemies by shifting more responsibility to the spirits themselves—to the helpless shades of Shelley, Shakespeare, Poe, and others. If anybody was fooling the public, the mediums chortled, it was the fun-loving spirits themselves. In the words of spiritualist Epes Sargent:

Spirits . . . sometimes [fraudulently] assume great names and influence the medium to talk in a style that revolts our sense of truth, of good taste, and identity . . . [and] sometimes play great hoaxes on unsuspecting mortals, and afflict us by verbose twaddle.¹³

As Henry More, seventeenth-century Platonist, once said, "There are as great fools in the spirit-world as there ever were in this."¹⁴

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¹³ *Scientific Basis of Spiritualism* (Boston, 1881), p. 135.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

THE HISTORY OF IDEAS AND LITERARY STUDIES

By MARGARET M. STARKEY

The student of literature who attempts to adapt the history-of-ideas method to purposes of literary research feels a little like a modern Eliza fleeing across the ice floes of current controversies with the hounds of the new criticism baying at his heels. Less fortunate than Eliza, when he has borne the infant discipline safely to shore, it is only to find Simon Legree in the person of the professional philosopher ready to drive him from any shelter whatsoever.

In the uproar of charge and counter-charge, the philosopher complains that the method sacrifices philosophy to literature, and the literary critic insists that it debases literary works to the level of philosophical tracts. After such an exchange of pleasantries, the battle of the critics is resumed with renewed vigor. Although the method has been clearly analyzed and ably defended, the chorus of complaint persists. Since literary studies continue to use the method, and reviewers still misinterpret its aims, it may be useful to reexamine the discipline under attack in order to review its purposes and possibilities.

The method, originated by the distinguished philosopher-historian, A. O. Lovejoy, proposes to isolate certain persistent unit ideas in the history of human thought, and to observe the recurrence of these unit ideas and their combination with other ideas. The method also works to analyze the concepts of a generation or a period, to break down the mass of unconscious assumptions, characteristic turns of thought, etc., into their component (and often very complex) parts. Source material for the breakdown may be works of literature, history, philosophy, economics, in fact, all available written records of a period.

When the student of literature takes over the method, he is usually trying to discover in what combinations, and with what variations, certain ideas of a period exist in the literature of the time. He works in this way because he believes that, until the complexes are unraveled, it is not possible to pass accurate judgment on important authors. It is impossible even to savor them fully without an awareness of the overtones of their language (overtones often difficult to discover without a knowledge of the thought-complexes of their time). For example, to read "nature" as the same term in Pope and in Wordsworth, is to read neither poet with understanding and appreciation. The point, which will be readily granted in this connection, is just as valid in the case of other poets and other terms. Nor can one make the mistake of reading such a term as "nature" in the same sense throughout the works of the same author.

In order to collect the material he needs, the history-of-ideas scholar resorts to all available sources. He cannot restrict his search to writers traditionally classified as literature. He plods through second, third, fourth-rate authors for a purpose—the collection of pertinent information. He does not, as his critics often claim, read the third-rate works under the impression that they are literary masterpieces.

The problems and criticisms of such research projects are several. Whatever excellence the method possesses lies in its thoroughness; the field must be fine-combed, coolly, objectively, before the results may be synthesized, and the findings used in connection with literary criticism. Hence, the first problem of the method is one of time. The discipline is long, and life is short. The scholar must narrow his field; as soon as he narrows it, some critic will be on hand to suggest unkindly that the scope of the research is insufficient.

Another danger of the method is that the procedure leads one from his chosen field of specialization into unknown provinces of knowledge. For instance, the researcher who tries to study primitivism in early eighteenth-century writings will find himself chasing the concept across such widely separated fields as landscape gardening, poor laws, art criticism, and philosophy. Mr. Lovejoy has held out the hope that cooperative scholarship would prove the answer to this particular problem of the history-of-ideas discipline.¹ The man who can get such cooperation thanks whatever stars a scholar may have; he who does not, pushes on into unknown territory, trying to make as few mistakes as possible.

When his work is done and his article or book is in print, what kind of criticisms may the history-of-ideas scholar expect from those who distrust the method in whole or in part? One frequently repeated charge is that the discipline exaggerates the clearness and one-ness of the philosophical convictions of the author studied, and that it makes a writer's artistic process seem too deliberate a procedure. Neither objection will stand. If there is anything that the method emphasizes, it is that the artistic process is anything but deliberate, and that a score of implicit philosophical convictions, varied and often contradictory, may underlie the surface expression of an author's philosophy. Mr. Lovejoy himself has stressed the fact of the unconscious suppositions, the reactions to certain kinds of "metaphysical pathos" that exist in many works. The researcher who has tried to follow a unit idea as it suffers many a sea change in the works of various writers, or even in those of the same author, is not likely to put much stock in this particular criticism of the history-of-ideas method.

More pertinent, perhaps, is the criticism that this method of approach blurs the critic's appreciation of the work of art. This charge

¹ A. O. Lovejoy, "The Historiography of Ideas," *Essays in the History of Ideas* (Baltimore, 1948), pp. 1-13. His emphatic admission of the necessity of such cooperation and of the difficulty of obtaining it occurs on page 13.

is one that the history-of-ideas discipline shares with other types of literary history, but its procedure leaves it peculiarly open to attack. The basic approach of examining minor as well as major works has led to the assertion that the history-of-ideas scholar tends to forget the differences in artistic merit between the two types of material, that when he discovers a lesser work to be important as a document in the history of ideas, he thinks it equally important in the field of literary excellence.

Does anyone seriously believe that an eighteenth-century scholar, plodding through miles of pedestrian couplets, loves these misbegotten rhymings better than the flashing lines of Pope? Or that the history-of-ideas method (or any other method) will make him rank an asinine ode of Colley Cibber's above the *Rape of the Lock*? Such a suggestion is fantastic, but the fantasy evolves because the adverse critic fails to make the distinction between the two stages of the method: the first, collecting dispassionately; the second, judging and appreciating in the light of knowledge gained.

In the first stage, the critic deliberately puts aside *for the moment* considerations of literary excellence, but he is never unconscious of them. He is postponing consideration of aesthetic values until he has gathered material that he feels will add to the accuracy of his judgments.

It may be charged, justly, that too many history-of-ideas studies in the field of literature stop short at stage one, but opponents of the method should not jump from this fact to the wholly false conclusion that the method itself precludes judgments on literary values. The history of ideas in no way obstructs the use of knowledge gained through historical analysis to aid the appreciation of works of literature. Indeed, the benefit to be gained from such an application is the basic justification for adapting the method to literary studies.

Each reader must decide for himself the question of the validity of such benefits. His decision will probably depend on the particular camp of literary criticism to which he gives allegiance. In any case, he is justified in asking: How can information gained through such sifting and analysis help us to judge literature?

First, it may help to make us conscious of the complexity of critical terms too casually used. Ever since Mr. Lovejoy made chillingly clear the tangled historical, literary, philosophical strains behind the many meanings of "romanticism," only the rashest writer uses the word without some qualification. Mr. René Wellek's exposition of the forty-odd meanings of the "baroque," many of them contradictory and some mutually exclusive, is a revelation of a like nature; though Mr. Wellek has certain reservations of his own about the history-of-ideas method.

Again, in judgments comparing writer with writer, the method provides information essential to an accurate statement of the case.

We can truly estimate the place of an author in respect to his generation only when we know the materials he had at hand. Only then, aware of the raw material available to writers of his period, can we estimate what use he has made of his opportunities. Against the background of his time, against the background of what lesser men have done with the topics, the ideas, the problems of that day, the successes and failures of great authors stand out in their fullest relief. Far from scaling down genius and scribbler to the same deadly level, the history-of-ideas method provides the perspective wherein the genius appears in proper focus. It is a discipline particularly useful to the formation of judgments about a writer's originality. It often reveals that the seeming paradoxes and unusual combinations of ideas in a writer's work are no more than a reflection of certain ambiguities in the opinion of his period.

To some, the terms "accuracy" and "careful judgment" may seem tame in comparison with the fervor embodied in the phrase "aesthetic experience." Such critics ask what, if anything, does the history-of-ideas method bring to our appreciation of the work of art as such. The point has been stressed by Mr. Lovejoy, and by others, notably the scholar critics, that the historical imagination is often essential to the aesthetic experience of a particular work of literature. A phrase, a word, a poem may bring to mind "historical perspectives" that are an important part of the whole aesthetic experience afforded by the work.

We cannot feel the full impact of an author's language unless we know those overtones which in his age enriched it, though in our time they may be lost. To read sensitively, we need knowledge of the tradition in which an author wrote and of those assumptions, conscious or unconscious, which were a living part of that tradition, but which, perhaps, to the modern reader are alien or unknown. To make the work live for us most fully, we must make live, in so far as possible, the climate of ideas which inspired it. The history of ideas is one aid to the achievement of this end.

It is one method; it has never claimed to be the only one. In the hands of the inept, it can, as can any other method, degenerate into formalism or into vague generalizations. Competently used, it can enrich our appreciation of literature by helping us to bring to a great work that knowledge that will render most concrete and effective its language, a knowledge of the overtones of the author's world, its words, and ways, and the thoughts with which it lived.

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TYPES OF LOAN TRANSLATIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN

By PAUL SCHACH

The purpose of this paper¹ will be to examine a number of loan translations in the old-established colonial language of Pennsylvania German with a view to classifying them and determining their relative prevalence as compared with the number of loanwords, loanblends (hybridisms), and semantic borrowings in common use.

The chief difficulties encountered in such a study stem from the fact that PaG is a composite dialect, consisting of elements of the dialects of the Palatinate and adjacent areas and somewhat modified by Standard German, which is very similar to English in word formation. Many words which at first glance seem to be translation loans prove upon closer scrutiny to be semantic borrowings.² Thus, for example, PaG */huniçsugel/*,³ which looks like a translation of E *honeysuckle*, must be classified as a semantic borrowing because of the existence of the phonetically similar *Honigsugerle* "deadnettle" in Alsatian, one of the contributing dialects to PaG.⁴ Similarly PaG */rigelwe:ɡ/* is not a translation of E *railway* but a native homologue which has become the heteronym⁵ of its AmE counterpart in much the same way that G *Eisenbahn* "track in a mine" came to mean "railway" through association with French *chemin de fer*.⁶ Further complications arise

¹ This paper was read in somewhat abridged form before the Modern Language Section of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association in Boulder, Colorado, on October 18, 1951. Portions of it were included in a paper entitled "Loanshifts in Pennsylvania German" presented before Discussion Group German I: Germanic Philology of the MLA in New York on December 27, 1950.

² For a discussion of this type of loan formation see my article "Semantic Borrowing in Pennsylvania German" in *American Speech*, XXVI (1951), 257-67.

³ The transcription of PaG words used in this article differs from the phonemic transcription employed by Carroll E. Reed in his monograph *The Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks: Phonology and Morphology* (Seattle, 1949) in the following respects: (1) the voiceless palatal fricative is designated by the character [ç] to distinguish it from the voiceless velar fricative [x]; (2) the affricates [ts] and [tʃ] are written */ds, dʃ/* rather than */c, ç/*.

⁴ The following abbreviations are used: E English; AmE American English; G German; PaG Pennsylvania German; AmG American German other than PaG; StG Standard German; *DA*, *Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles*, ed. Mitford M. Mathews (Chicago, 1951); *DW*, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1854 ff.).

⁵ The term *heteronym* is used here to designate interlingual synonyms of identical structure, such as *Fleischbrühe*—*meatbroth* or *Lindenbaum*—*linden tree*, as opposed to *homologues* which are structurally identical compounds whose meanings are different, such as *Hochschule*—*high school*, *Riegelweg*—*railway*. In PaG and AmG homologues tend to become heteronyms. For a discussion of this type of semantic shift cf. the article mentioned in footnote 2.

⁶ Cf. Kluge-Götze, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 14. Aufl. (Berlin, 1948), p. 128.

from the regional, generational, and personal variations in vocabulary, which make it difficult in some cases to determine the frequency and distribution of certain expressions.

Since the German settlers in Pennsylvania needed new words to designate the indigenous flora and fauna, one would naturally expect to find some loan translations among their animal and plant names. Probably one of the oldest of these is /grundsau/, formed after the AmE word *groundhog* which appears in print as early as 1656 as a probable translation of Dutch *aardvarken* "earth-pig".⁷ (Although many similar terms such as *Feldsäule*, *Erdferkel*, *Kornferkel*, and *Erdensau* are common in various German dialects, *Grundsau*, to the best of my knowledge, does not occur in any of them.) With the exception of /grundsauda:g/ "Groundhog Day", the many compounds of this word such as /grundsauhaud/ "groundhog skin", /grundsauhund/ "groundhog dog", /grundsaufle:š/ "groundhog meat", /grundsaulox/ "groundhog den", etc., need not be regarded as loan translations, but rather as independent compounds which just happen to be structurally identical with their AmE synonyms. Numerous hybrids formed with this word are also in use.⁸

Two common poisonous snakes against which the early settlers had to be on their guard were the rattlesnake and the copperhead. The former appears in PaG as /raselšan/ and in StG as *Klapperschlange*. The latter is sometimes designated by the loan translation /kuberkob/, but more frequently by the native word /kuberšlan/ *Kupferschlange*, which in Europe is used to designate the common adder. Another word (rare) for *copperhead* is /ge:lkob/ "yellow head", which may have been influenced by AmE *yellow moccasin*. /re:šlan/ is a translation of hoop-snake, so called because it was believed to hold its tail in its mouth and roll like a hoop.

Among the bird names, /kadsefogel/ is a translation of *catbird*, while /dregšwalem/ lit. "dirt-swallow" and /ki:šda:r/ lit. "cow blackbird" are modeled on *mud-swallow* and *cowbird*. Since *Kuhvogel*, the exact counterpart of *cowbird*, occurs in German, the use of /ki:šda:r/ is rather surprising.

Because of the amazing variety and multiplicity of insect names in the various G dialects, it is often quite difficult to determine whether certain PaG terms have been translated from AmE. There are, for example, about thirty designations for the butterfly in the Palatinate alone; and the firefly and the grasshopper have literally dozens of dialect names including the heteronyms *Feuerfliege* and *Grashüpfer*.⁹ /dregwešb/ lit. "dirt wasp" seems to be modeled on *mud-wasp*.

⁷ Cf. J. P. Bense, *Dictionary of the Low-Dutch Element in the English Vocabulary* (The Hague, 1937), p. 129, and *DA*, I, 750.

⁸ Cf. my article on "Hybrid Compounds in Pennsylvania German," *American Speech*, XXIII (1948), 121-34.

⁹ For literature on plant and insect names in the G dialects cf. A. Bach, *Deutsche Mundartforschung*, 2. Aufl. (Heidelberg, 1950), pp. 170 ff.

/ge:lwešb/ and /haršmig/ correspond exactly to *yellow-wasp* and *deer-fly*. /slənedogder/ is apparently a translation of *snake-doctor*, the common designation of the dragonfly in Eastern Pennsylvania. /grumbi:rekefer/ or /grumbe:rekefer/ is either a translation or an independent heteronym of *potato-bug*, which was used in America as early as 1799 to designate the potato-fly and since 1890 to designate the Colorado potato-beetle.¹⁰ It is interesting to note that the Palatine word for potato-beetle is phonetically almost identical with the PaG term. *Kartoffelkäfer* is not yet listed in Volume V of the *DW* published in 1873.

Several tree names are patterned after AmE words. /šwame:çe/ is a translation of *swamp-oak*. /šbane:çe/ seems to be a contracted form of /šbaniše e:çe/ *Spanish oak* (cf. G. *Grünspan* lit. "spanisches Grün", formed after *viride Hispanicum*). /na:dele:çe/ "needle-oak" and /nagele:çe/ "nail oak", both of which designate the *pin oak*, are modeled on this word. Two other trees with translated names are the *buttonwood* (*Platanus occidentalis* or *P. orientalis*), which appears in PaG as /gnobhols/, and the (flowering) *dogwood*, which some dialect speakers call /hunshols/.

Because of the prevalence and uniqueness of the plants it seems likely that /biskadsegraud/ *skunk-cabbage* and /rangegifd/ *poison ivy* early became a part of the PaG vocabulary. Other interesting heteronyms among the plant names are /a:demune:wa:/ "Adam and Eve" (*Aplectrum hyemale*), /ba:bšdkob/ "pope's head" (G *Melonenkaktus* or *Rippenkaktus*), /blo:bodel/ "blue bottle" (G *Kornblume*), /bomga:rdegra:s/ and /buŋerdgra:s/ "orchard grass", /damgra:s/ "pond grass", /geldgraud/ "money wort", /grodešdu:l/ "toadstool", /hečdgraud/ "pickerel weed", /hudšefu:s/ "coltsfoot", /lu:derblum/ "carriage flower", and /wu:dgraud/ "madweed" (cf. G. *Wutbeere* and *Wutkirsche* "belladonna"). All the terms in this list seem to be translation loanwords. *Cucumber tree* appears in the dialect as /gumereba:m/ or /gumerebo:m/. *Rattlesnake root* (*Polygala senega*) is /raselšəwardsel/ in the dialect and *Klapperschlängenzwurzel* in Standard German. The fact that some PaG speakers use the StG rather than the dialect term raises the question whether in this case (and, indeed, in some other instances also) the PaG word might not have been translated from the German rather than directly from English. Plant names including place names are the /kanada:dišdel/ "Canada thistle" and the well-known /blo:barigte:/ or /blo:barijerte:/ "Blue Mountain tea".

Of the wild native berries, two have translated names, namely, /fasandebe:r/ or /fasandebe:r/ "partridge berry" and /dindebe:r/ or /dindebe:r/ "inkberry". /fasand/ G *Fasan* "pheasant" is generally used to designate the ruffed grouse (*Bonasa umbellus*), which is also popularly called *partridge* or *pheasant* in AmE. While the grouse is

¹⁰ Cf. *DA*, II, 1295.

commonly known as a pheasant in Eastern Pennsylvania today, the existence of /*fasandebi:r*/ as a translation of *partridge berry* suggests that it may have been called a partridge in this region in colonial times. Both wild and domestic strawberries are occasionally referred to as /*šdro:bi:re*/, but the native words /*ærbel*/ and /*æbbi:r*/ are far more common. Some berries, such as the huckleberry and the blackberry, are designated by loanblends: /*hogelbi:r*/ and /*blægbi:r*/.

The names of several varieties of corn have been modeled on the AmE words: /*be:semwelskarn*/ "broom-corn", /*feldwelskarn*/ "field corn", and /*si:swelskarn*/ "sweet corn". Probably /*so:dwelskarn*/ "seed corn" should be regarded as an independent compound which just happens to coincide with the E word. /*bi:wliwelskarn*/ "pop-corn" (lit. "chick corn") and /*saiwelskarn*/ "corn for feeding pigs" or "inferior corn" do not seem to have any E homologues.

According to Bense the E word *groundnut*, formed after Du. *grondnoot*, was probably imported into Massachusetts in 1620 by the Pilgrim Fathers.¹¹ In the sense of "peanut" it has appeared in print in America since 1769.¹² In PaG this word appears as /*grundnis*/. In the Palatinate the peanut is popularly known as an *Achternuß* "eight nut" because of its shape, or as an *Ölnuß* "oil nut" because of its oil content. The use of *Erdnuß* to designate the peanut in Standard German is probably due to association with E *earthnut*.¹³

The *black walnut*, called in Germany simply *Walnuß*, appears in PaG as /*šwardswalnis*/. The *Nußbaum* "walnut tree" is correspondingly called /*šwardswalnisba:m*/ or /*šwardswalnisbo:m*/. The *butternut* is a /*budernus*/ or /*budernis*/. Another name for this nut is /*e:lwalnis*/, lit. "oil walnut", which is evidently a cross between the native /*walnis*/ and AmE *oil nut*.

An interesting dialect food name is /*buxwe:dsekuxe*/, apparently a translation of AmE *buckwheat cake*, which in turn seems to have been formed after Du. *boekweitkoek*.¹⁴ The popular hard candy known as a *jawbreaker* is called in PaG a /*gumebreçer*/, lit. "palate breaker". In Schuylkill County I have heard the word /*fišermansub*/, which is apparently a translation of *fisherman's stew*. In parts of Berks County a layer cake is called a /*ho:xkuxe*/ in the dialect and a *high cake* in English. The heteronyms /*melasiçkuxe*/ "molasses cookie" and /*melasiçbro:d*/ "molasses bread" are widely used.

Of the objects in and around the house the following are probably loan-translations: /*e:ldux*/ "oil cloth" (which designates both the table covering and the linoleum floor covering; cf. G *Wachstuch* "oil cloth" and *Ölzeug* "oilskins"), /*gwiderru:d*/ "lightning rod" (G

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹² Cf. *DA*, I, 750, and II, 1214.

¹³ Cf. M. F. Follman, *Wörterbuch der Deutsch-Lothringischen Mundart* (Strassburg, 1909), p. 125; Martin-Lienhart, *Wörterbuch der Elsässischen Mundarten* (Strassburg, 1899), I, 788. *DW*, III, 775 (1862) does not yet list *Erdnuß* with the meaning "peanut".

¹⁴ Cf. *DA*, I, 204 f.

Blitzableiter), /grudsepaif/ "corncob pipe", /karšešde:ner/ "cherry stoner", /ko:le:l/ "coal oil" (i.e., "kerosene"; cf. G *Erdöl* and *Steinöl*, which are modeled on E *petroleum*), /ši:nebe:sem/ "splint broom", /šdaremdi:r/ "storm door", /šdaremfenšder/ "storm window", and /wandbabi:r/ "wallpaper" (G *Tapete* or *Wandtapete*). The various compounds of /ko:le:l/ such as /ko:le:lfa/ "coal-oil barrel", /ko:le:lkan/ "coal-oil can", /ko:le:llicd/ "coal-oil lamp", and /ko:le:lofe/ "coal-oil stove" are probably independent formations rather than loan translations. /sumerkiç/ may well be a translation of *summer kitchen*, although *Sommerküchen* does occur in the East Frisian dialect.¹⁵

Translated agricultural terms are /drešbrül/ "thresher's goggles", /hingelbauerai/ "chicken farm" (cf. AmG *Hühnerfarm*), /hingeldro:d/ "chicken wire", /welškarnausmaxer/ "corn sheller", /welškarnhaisel/ "corn crib", and /šbrinhaus/ "spring-house". The last word might also be interpreted as a loanword with sound substitution or as a loanblend consisting of E *spring* plus PaG /haus/. It is interesting to note that /welškarnhaisel/ has a close parallel in American-Norwegian *kornkrubba*.¹⁶

Among the translated designations of currency are such words as /da:lerno:d/ "dollar note" (cf. also the loanblend /da:lerbil/ "dollar bill"), /fimfda:lerno:d/ "five-dollar note", /dse:eda:lerno:d/ "ten-dollar note", /fartelda:ler/ "quarter dollar", and /halwerda:ler/ "half-dollar". In these compounds /da:ler/ is not an E loanword, but the dialect form of G *Taler*, which is quite generally substituted by older German Americans for *dollar*. An interesting partial translation is /fimfbensšdik/ "five-pence piece" (cf. G *Fünfpfennigstück*) which is still occasionally used for *nickel*.

The names of several holidays or special days are formed on English models. Probably /dangsa:guŋsda:g/ "Thanksgiving Day" is the oldest of these, in view of the fact that the E word appeared in print as early as 1632.¹⁷ Since *Danksagungstag* is generally used in America to designate this day (a similar festival in Europe is called *Erntedankfest*), one is tempted to see in /dangsa:guŋsda:g/ the dialect form of the AmG word. It would be of interest in this connection to know when *Danksagungstag* first appeared in print in America. Quite as well known and almost as important among Pennsylvania Germans is /grundsauda:g/ "Groundhog Day". /ebelda:g/ and /da:lerda:g/ are patterned after *Apple Day* and *Dollar Day*. Lambert lists /mugewox/ as a translation of *Fly Week*.¹⁸ In some areas this word is pronounced /migewox/.

¹⁵ DW, XI, 1538.

¹⁶ Cf. Einar Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," *Language*, XXVI (1950), 220.

¹⁷ Cf. DA, II, 1721.

¹⁸ *Dictionary of the Non-English Words of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect* (Lancaster, 1924), p. 105.

From the realm of religion the dialect gained the words /la:gerfersamliŋ/ "camp meeting" (which may have come into PaG via AmG *Lagerversammlung*) and /lanfersamliŋ/ "protracted meeting". Many PaG speakers use the hybrid /lanmi:dɪŋ/ to designate this type of extended evangelistic service. /sunda:gʃu:l/ may possibly be a translation of *Sunday School*, although *Sonntagschule* is attested for StG as early as 1774.¹⁹

The words /la:dʃde:/ "lodestone" and /wu:dʃde:/ "madstone" are interesting because both are used in PaG as well as in AmE to denote a stonelike object obtained from the stomach of a deer, popularly believed to be efficacious in preventing or curing hydrophobia if placed on the wound inflicted by a rabid animal.²⁰

At least one craftsman bears a translated name: the *bricklayer* is called a /bagesde:le:jer/ in the dialect, but a *Ziegelmaurer* in Standard German.

Miscellaneous nouns translated from English are /dambruʃd/ "dam breast", /falʃsiçd/ "false face" (i.e., "mask"), /mideleld/ "middle age", /ʃu:ltage/ "school taxes" (possibly a loanblend), /ʃwimlox/ "swimming hole", /sumerganged/ "summer complaint", and /wand-bob/, lit. "wall doll", which seems to be an approximate translation of *wallflower*.

Very few adjectives or adverbs appear among the loan translations in PaG. Lambert derives /ba:siç/ "bossy" from a dialect German noun *bâs*.²¹ If this is correct, the adjective may well be a translation of E *bossy*. Otherwise it must be considered a hybrid derivative composed of a borrowed stem plus a native suffix. /hendiç/ "handy" and /na:siç/ "nosy" should probably be regarded as semantic borrowings since these forms already exist in composition in such words as /e:jehendiç/ *eigenhändig* "by oneself, with one's own hands", and /bre:dna:siç/ *breitnasig* "flat-nosed". The following adjectives are evidently loan translations: /aldgugiç/ "old-looking", /gu:dgugiç/ "good-looking", /i:welgugiç/ "bad-looking" or "evil-looking", and /ʃe:gugiç/ "nice-looking". In PaG, as in a number of other G dialects, deverbative adjectives such as /la:fiç/ "running" and /ko:xiç/ "boiling" have the force of the present participle. Furthermore the morphemic pattern of such compounds as these already exists in various G dialects in such words as *hartschaffig* "hard-working". Thus these compounds can be explained as analogical formations created according to the formula: *hard-working* is to /hardʃafiç/ as *good-looking* is to /gu:dgugiç/. It might be mentioned here that although most of the G speakers with whom I checked my word-material knew the word *hartschaffig*, none had before heard the compounds of *-guckig*.²²

¹⁹ Cf. *DW*, X¹, 1727.

²⁰ Cf. Lambert, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 and 180; and *DA*, II, 990 and 1015.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

²² After checking my word material in all the available dialect and standard German dictionaries, I read each word to several G teachers who are natives of

/he:mgrang/ is evidently a translation of E *homesick*, and /he:mge-maxd/ is formed on the pattern of E *homemade*, although a similar word, *hausgemacht*, exists in StG. /endwe:gs/ "endways" and /said-we:gs/ "sideways" are loan translations, the formation of which was probably facilitated by the existence of such analogous native terms as /halbwe:gs/ *halbwegs* "half-way" and /midwe:gs/ *mitwegs* "mid-way".

In marked contrast to the plethora of hybrid verbs in the dialect, PaG exhibits very few translated verbs.²³ Many verbs, such as /abwaise/ "to show off" and /ufle:se/ "to read up (on)", which appear at first glance to be loan translations, must be classified as semantic borrowings since the words themselves, although with completely different and unrelated meanings, already occur in the dialect and in StG. Among the translated verbs we find /fölfle/ "to fulfill" (but cf. G. *voll füllen* "to fill to the top" and *erfüllen* "to fulfill"), /iwerkúme/ "to overcome", /ufdobe:le/ "to double up" (both in the sense of "to bend" and in the meaning "to share"), /ufe:gne/ "to own up" (i.e., "to confess"), and /dserigšwedse/ "to talk back." The last verb has an interesting parallel in the American-Portuguese phrasal loan *responder para tras*.²⁴

The only translated preposition in PaG is /midaus/ "without". Lambert's suggestion²⁵ that the formation of this word may have been influenced by G *mitohne* seems far-fetched, since *mitohne* is used only jokingly. It seems more likely that the PaG speaker, possibly because of his difficulty in pronouncing the word *with*, substituted the native word /mid/ in the first compound. The resulting word was the loanblend /midaud/, which is more commonly used than /midaus/. Some speakers went one step further and translated also the second element.

Probably the most prevalent type of loan translation in the dialect is the phrasal loan. Since this involves questions of syntax, it must be regarded as a separate problem which cannot be discussed in detail here. A few of the more interesting examples, however, should be noted:

/sel is uf dsu di:r/ "That is up to you" *Das hängt von dir ab*.

/mi:r hen en gu:di dsaid ghade/ "We had a good time" *Wir haben uns gut unterhalten*.

/was ge:d o: do:/ "What's going on here?" *Was ist los hier?*

/ar is iwe: ab/ "He's bad off" *Er ist übel dran*.²⁶

Hesse, the Palatinate, and Württemberg. Several dozen items not listed in any dictionaries were recognized by these persons and thus eliminated from this paper.

²³ For a discussion of hybrid verbs cf. my article "The Formation of Hybrid Derivatives in Pennsylvania German," *Symposium*, III (1949), 114-29.

²⁴ Cf. Leo Pap, *Portuguese-American Speech* (New York, 1949), p. 89.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

²⁶ But cf. the G expression *Er ist ganz ab* "He is quite exhausted".

/ər eːɡnəd mɛr fɪnf daːləv/ "He owes me five dollars" *Er ist mir fünf Dollar schuldig*.²⁷

While this paper can make no pretense to an exhaustive treatment of the problem, the material discussed in it does, I believe, represent the main types of translation loans and indicate the extent of loan translation in the PaG dialect. As one can see at a glance, the translation loanwords in PaG are almost exclusively concrete nouns which designate objects and institutions for which the dialect had no names. Abstract nouns are almost invariably imported without morphemic substitution, but with almost complete adaptation to the native sound system and morphological patterns.²⁸ Only rarely are hybrid abstract words created on the pattern of native words, such as /miːnɪkːeːd/ "meanness" and /niːdɪkːeːd/ "neatness" (cf. /slɛçdɪkːeːd/ "badness" and G *Nettigkeit* "neatness, prettiness"). Most of these translated loanwords are compounds consisting of two nouns or of an adjective plus a noun, which can enter into further compounds.

The nature and wide distribution, and in some cases also the large number of compounds, of such translation loanwords as /eːldʊx/, /grundsaw/, /koːleːl/, /raselʃlan/, etc., suggest that they must have become a part of the dialect at a very early period, since they are in common use not only in southeastern Pennsylvania, but also in the numerous PaG speech islands in Ontario and the Midwest. To what extent these words owe their origin and dissemination to written sources, especially newspapers and church publications, is a question which deserves investigation.

Although the dialect abounds in literally translated idioms, the number of translation loanwords is very small. It is impossible to estimate the proportion of translation loanwords in the dialect with any degree of accuracy; but on the basis of my own investigations of the dialect and a careful reading of Lambert's dictionary, I should venture the opinion that translation loanwords represent considerably less than one-half of one per cent of the total PaG vocabulary. The proportion of E loanwords, on the other hand, has been estimated by A. F. Buffington at 5 to 8 per cent for the spoken language.²⁹ In view of this marked difference, one should be cautious in interpreting the many hybrid formations as partial translations even when there is an apparent E model. Many hybrid compounds containing such E words as *fence*, *handle*, *jelly*, and *pie* should probably be regarded as independent compounds made up of a native morpheme plus a loan morpheme which has long since ceased to be regarded as "foreign" (cf.

²⁷ The semantic shift of /eːɡne/ from "to own" to "to owe" is discussed in the article mentioned in footnote 2.

²⁸ Cf. J. W. Frey, "The Phonemics of English Loan Words in Eastern York County Pennsylvania Dutch," *American Speech*, XVII (1942), 94 ff.; and Carroll E. Reed, "The Adaptation of English to Pennsylvania German Morphology," *American Speech*, XXIII (1948), 239 ff.

²⁹ "English Loan Words in Pennsylvania German," *Studies in Honor of John Albrecht Walz* (Lancaster, 1941), pp. 65 ff. Under certain circumstances, de-

the G distinction between *Lehnwort* and *Fremdwort*).⁸⁰ Indeed, it is quite possible that the PaG names of certain fruit and berry pies, for example, antedate their AmE homologues.

That the number of semantic borrowings in the dialect should also considerably exceed the number of loan translations is not surprising. Semantic borrowing frequently results automatically among bilingual speakers when native distinctions in function and meaning are obliterated through association with semantically, phonetically, or structurally similar words in the second language. The process of loan translation, however, which involves the substitution of native morphemes for foreign ones in a given pattern, would seem to require at least a modicum of conscious analysis of the foreign model. This holds true especially in such loan translations as */weliskarnhaisel/* in which one of the substitute native words (in this case */haisel/* "little house") is not completely synonymous with the replaced foreign word. Since the use of StG as a written language has practically disappeared among the speakers of PaG, the steadily increasing pressure of E will probably result in an influx of loan words and a marked increase in the number of hybridisms and semantic borrowings. But the translation of E words into PaG can be expected to decrease in proportion to the degree to which E replaces the dialect as the primary spoken language.

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pending upon the individual and the topic under discussion, the proportion of E loanwords may considerably exceed Buffington's estimate. Cf. O. Springer, "The Study of the Pennsylvania German Dialect," *JEGP*, XLII (1943), 19 ff.

⁸⁰ Some older PaG speakers, for example, consider the loanword */boi/* to be a native word but regard the variant */pai/* as "English."

GOETHE AND DE CANDOLLE

By JOHN HENNIG

Goethe's knowledge of the French language has been taken so much for granted that its development and manifestations have not been systematically investigated, and of his numerous translations from the French those of scientific texts in particular have never been studied from the literary or linguistic point of view. The present note relates primarily to the largest of Goethe's translations of French scientific texts.

In his book *Goethe's Knowledge of French Literature* (Oxford, 1932) Dr. B. Barnes had the advantage over Dr. Boyd's earlier book *Goethe's Knowledge of English Literature* (Oxford, 1932) that E. v. Keudell's publication of the Weimar Library records relating to Goethe had become available, and it was from this work that Dr. Barnes noted, in his appendix entitled "Minor Writers, Scholars and Scientists": "A. P. de Candolle. Goethe borrowed *Organographie végétale* (1827) on 13 January 1831." However, in his letters and diaries Goethe referred to his reading of several other works by De Candolle.¹ Moreover, omitting, as Dr. Boyd had done, references in Goethe's scientific works, Dr. Barnes failed to mention that WE II, vii, 151-64, Goethe's translation dated July 31, 1828, of *Organographie* V, ii, was published,² and that also from Goethe's correspondence, especially with Soret, it appears that there was no work of scientific literature in French of which Goethe had a higher opinion than De Candolle's *Organographie*.

After seeing, in the spring of 1828, a review of *Organographie végétale* in *Hermes*, 32, 1 (WE IV, xlii, 75, and xlviii, 330), Goethe wrote on May 16 to Jügel, the Frankfurt bookseller, for a copy, and immediately after receiving it (acknowledgment to Jügel of June 18), he began to read it. As early as May 11 he had referred to this work in a letter to Soret as being of great value to their common work, namely, the French translation of Goethe's *Metamorphose der Pflanzen* (which was to be published by Cotta in 1831). On June 21 he wrote to Soret the following review, which should certainly find a place in a study on Goethe's knowledge of French literature:

Schon seit acht Tagen beschäftigt mich Herrn De Candolle's *Organographie végétale*, ein merkwürdiges, gerade zu unserem Zwecke nützliches und notwendiges Werk: man belehrt sich, wie weit die Erfahrung gelangt ist, inwiefern man das Wissen zusammengebracht hat und es wissenschaftlich aufzustellen bemüht ist. Hier tritt nun ein Mensch methodisierend der Natur gegenüber,

¹ "Die Hefte von Decandolle" brought by Soret (Goethe's diary, October 3, 1823) have not been identified.

² Mentioned by R. Magnus, *Goethe als Naturforscher* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 102.

und in der Methode das Individuum mit den Gleichgesinnten. Da macht es sich denn diesmal gar hübsch: Herr De Candolle, welcher vom Besonderen ins Allgemeine geht, behandelt uns andere [nous autres!], die wir vom Allgemeinen ins Besondere trachten, nicht unfreundlich, und gar viele der beiderseitigen Enuntiationen, wie sie sich begegnen, sind gleichlautend; an wenig Stellen erscheint ein Widerstreit, welcher keiner Auflösung bedarf; es sind nur zwei verschiedene Sprachen und man versteht sich wohl. Wenn wir, mein Bester, zu unseren Vorsätzen Atem gewinnen, so wird uns dieses Werk von größtem Nutzen sein, und gerade jetzt kommt es mir sehr zustatten; ich mag es aufschlagen, wo ich will, so erinnert es mich an die alte, befreundete, ewig bildende, umbildende Natur, woher wir das Leben empfangen und wohin wir es wieder zurückgeben.

A week later Goethe wrote to Soret that botanical studies were his only comfort in his sorrow at the death of the Grand Duke Karl August (who had died on June 14 on his return from Berlin):

Beim Aufwachen, wo ein so großer Verlust immer wieder aufs neue lebendig wird, greife ich nach dem Werke von Herrn De Candolle und bewundere ihn, wie er all die unendlichen Einzelheiten zu behandeln weiß. Auch wird mir immer klarer, wie er die Intentionen ansieht, in denen ich mich fortbewege und die in meinem kurzen Aufsatz über die Metamorphose zwar deutlich genug ausgesprochen sind, deren Begründung aber auf der Erfahrungs-Botanik, wie ich längst weiß, nicht deutlich genug hervorgeht.

The comfort which the reading of De Candolle's work had afforded him on this occasion was recalled by Goethe nine months later in his letter to Meyer of March 30, 1829. What De Candolle said on the relationship between deduction and induction in scientific studies in general and in botanical studies in particular gradually became the principal point of Goethe's interest in *Organographie végétale*. On July 2, 1828, he sent Soret an extract:

woraus Sie ersehen werden, wie Herr De Candolle zwei Schulen einander gegenüberstellt und die beiderseitigen Methoden vereinigen zu wollen den Voratz ausspricht. Inwiefern wir also hievon den Anlaß nehmen, uns ihm zu nähern und uns nach seiner Weise auszudrücken, so haben wir auf alle Fälle gewonnen.

"Wir" in this case are Goethe and Soret, and this whole correspondence illustrates the close part which Goethe took in Soret's translation of the *Metamorphose* into French. Goethe then referred to De Candolle's praise of Jungius, the sixteenth-century German scientist, and in his own essay on Jungius he made it quite clear, by the initial quotation from the original (I, vii), that it was *Organographie végétale* that drew his attention to this writer (WE II, vii, 105 and 229, and IV, lxiv, 420). The passage which Goethe sent to Soret is, no doubt, that which in his translation forms paragraphs 16 ff.

On July 10, 1829, Goethe wrote to Soret:

In dieser absoluten Einsamkeit [at Dornburg, where Goethe had retired after the death of the Grand Duke] nun gelang es mir, die zwei Bände der *Organographie* des Herrn De Candolle unter stetiger Aufmerksamkeit durchzulesen,

die Tafeln mit dem Text zu vergleichen, dabei aber unser Vornehmen immer im Auge zu behalten. Nun sage ich mit Vergnügen, besonders auch zu Ihrer Aufmunterung zu der in den Händen habenden Arbeit: daß dieses Werk zu unserem Zweck höchst förderlich ist und daß es uns den besten Anlaß gibt, jene zwei wichtigen Vorstellungsweisen bei Behandlung der Natur in ein glückliches und faßliches Gleichgewicht zu bringen. De Candolle ist schon so weit vorgegangen, daß kein Widerstreit irgend entstehen kann, nur hier und da wird ein Ausgleich kleiner Differenzen nötig, wie bei jeder Annäherung, und dies wird alles diplomatisch, zierlich und galant zu bewirken sein, ich will im Deutschen möglichst das Maß zu halten suchen, und die französische Übersetzung mag sodann unserem Vortrag die sicherste Vorstellung geben.

Finally Goethe wrote to Soret that he wished "uns im Sinne dieses werten Mannes vollkommen zu unterrichten." There are few instances where we can study more closely the organic way in which a translation by Goethe of a foreign scientific text grew from the context in which he studied this text than the translation from De Candolle's *Organographie*. A few days later, he answered Soret's inquiry regarding the French translation of his term "Staub-Beutel" by a quotation in French from I, 460, of this work, defining the meaning of the word *l'anthère*, and he concluded this quotation with the words: "So weit mit den Worten des Meisters."³

Goethe continued:

Sie werden das Werk mit dem größten Vergnügen lesen, wenn Sie sich durch mein abstraktes Büchlein durchgearbeitet haben, und sich alsdann gar bald die Wege ins ganze vegetabilische Reich heiter geöffnet sehen. Herr De Candolles *Organographie* . . . erst vor einem Jahr herausgekommen, dient mir statt einer vollständigen Bibliothek um die Stellung dieser Wissenschaft in Absicht sowohl des Erkennens als des Denkens, des Ordners und des Meinens zu übersehen,

a passage which, of course, is of eminent importance to Goethe's theory of science.

At last, on August 3 Goethe wrote to Soret that he had now read right through the two volumes of De Candolle's work and several times through "die uns näher berührenden Capitel und habe daher endlich den Abschnitt über die *Symétrie végétale* unseren Absichten zusagend übersetzt." Then follows Goethe's plan of the French edition of his *Metamorphose*, embodying De Candolle's chapter on "*symétrie végétale*":

d.h. von der gesetzmäßigen Pflanzenbildung, im Original mit meiner Übersetzung an der Seite, dazu noch einzelnes daher Bezügliche aus eben diesem Werke, vielleicht auch einiges was der Verfasser in der *Théorie élémentaire* hierüber ausgesprochen.

On August 7 Goethe ordered from Jügel De Candolle's *Théorie élémentaire de la botanique*, for the second edition of which (Paris,

³ "Erwartet man nicht das feierliche Zuklappen des Buches mit der homiletischen Formel: 'So weit die Worte des Evangeliums?'" Franz Dilger, "Wußte Goethe, was Offenbarung bedeutet?" in *Schweizer Rundschau*, N.F., XLIX (1949), 297.

1819) Soret had asked him (WE IV, xlv, 253, 269, 432, and 454). There is no record of Goethe's translating from the latter work, nor was his translation from *Organographie* eventually embodied in Soret's translation of his *Metamorphose*. In his letters to Meyer of March 30 and June 26, 1829, Goethe again referred to his plan to insert his translation in Soret's edition. In these letters De Candolle's *Organographie* is the last item in a list of works confirming Goethe's theory of the metamorphosis of plants, and Goethe has added: "Decandolles Organographie und Eléments de botanique ließ ich mir wohlgefallen."

A German translation by Bremer of De Candolle's *Théorie élémentaire de la botanique* had appeared in 1814-1815, but Goethe read this work in the French original. On September 4, 1828, he noted in his diary: "Bedeutende Stellen in De Candolle's *Théorie élémentaire de la Botanique* gefunden," and two days later: "Wendete meine Aufmerksamkeit auf De Candolle's *T.é.d.l.B.* und auf die Annäherung des Autors an die Lehre von der Metamorphose." The work, which Sprengel prepared from the second edition under the title "Grundzüge der wissenschaftlichen Pflanzenkunde" (Leipzig, 1820), had been reviewed by Goethe as early as March 8, 1821 (diary),⁴ but was disavowed by De Candolle (see the article on him in *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*).

In the course of his correspondence on *Organographie végétale* Goethe repeatedly referred to De Candolle as "Genfer." As early as 1817 he had read his *Hortus (plantarum horti botanici) Monspelliensis* (September 28; on April 3, 1819, dispatched to the Grand Duke). Considering that Goethe owned, and had extensively used, a copy of De Candolle's *Organographie* in 1828, it is curious that in 1831 he borrowed this work from the Weimar Library (see the beginning of this paper). This renewed study was "bei Gelegenheit des Werkes von Vaucher" (borrowed by Goethe from the Weimar Library, January 31, diary, February 1 and 15), i.e., *Histoire physiologique des plantes d'Europe* by the Geneva botanist.

A German translation had also been published on De Candolle's *Essai sur les propriétés médicales des plantes*, and it is only in this translation that Goethe read this work (diary, March 13 and 30, May 2, 1819, March 22, 1820, and September 26, 1829).

According to his diary, Goethe started reading De Candolle's *Organographie* on June 13, 1828. On the following day he noted his renewed meditation upon his "Art von der Peripherie nach dem Centrum zu gelangen." Three days later he had finished the first volume. Then on July 31 Goethe noted: "Ich nahm die *Organographie* wieder vor und fing an das Capitel *De la Symétrie végétale Tom. II. pag. 236* zu übersetzen." The entry for the subsequent day starts

⁴ The index to WE III erroneously suggested (xiv, 164) that this was a reference to De Candolle's *Regni vegetabilis systema naturale*.

with the words: "An jener Übersetzung fortgefahren, und das Capitel durchgebracht." This translation was revised on August 15 and September 1. Unfortunately the manuscript shows no signs of these revisions, but apparently is the finished "Mundum" mentioned in the diary-entry for September 2. It is curious, though, that in contrast to the translation of the title given in the letter to Soret of August 3, this version is headed "Von dem Gesetzlichen der Pflanzenbildung." This is Chapter II of the fifth book of De Candolle's work, which bears the title "Conclusions et généralités."

There can be little doubt that one of the reasons why Goethe translated this chapter and planned its insertion into the French edition of his *Metamorphose* was the reference made in it to "la manière véritablement admirable dont M. Goethe quoique habituellement occupé d'idées si différentes a comme deviné l'organisation végétale" (p. 243). The present note, however, is not concerned with the material contents of De Candolle's work⁶ or of the chapter translated by Goethe but with the contribution made through this translation to the development of German scientific terminology. Translations from foreign languages, in particular from English and French sources, have naturally been an important feature in this development. Is it not absurd that in Fischer's compendium claiming to survey *Goethes Wortschatz*, his scientific writings, not to speak of his translations of foreign scientific texts, have not been considered?

The importance which Goethe attributed to De Candolle and to his translation would justify the reprinting of this translation side by side with the original in its entirety, the more so since both texts are not easily accessible. However, I must confine myself to listing some of the most striking points in Goethe's translation. For reference purposes this list follows the text; the numbers refer to the paragraphs in Goethe's translation (where some of De Candolle's paragraphs have been split in two).

In the first sentence Goethe rendered "nature brute" by "Stein-

⁶ The connection between the teaching of Goethe and that of De Candolle has been discussed by Dr. Agnes Arber in *The Natural Philosophy of Plant Form* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 46-58. No reference was made to Goethe's study of De Candolle's writings, but De Candolle's knowledge of Goethe is mentioned. Since the *Mémoires et Souvenirs* (Geneva, 1862) by De Candolle's son are not easily accessible, I am indebted to Dr. A. Hesse, Zurich, for placing me in a position to quote the passage which was Dr. Arber's source on De Candolle's knowledge of Goethe: "On sait que l'illustre Goethe avait écrit en 1790 un opuscule sur la *Métamorphose des plantes*, où se trouvent plusieurs des pointes de vue développées par mon père du 1809 à 1813, notamment dans la *Théorie*. Le travail remarquable du poète était presque inconnu aux botanistes allemands, à plus forte raison aux français surtout à ceux qui, comme mon père, ne connaissaient pas la langue allemande. J'ai cherché avec beaucoup de soin dans quelle année il avait eu la première notion de cet ouvrage. Il m'a été impossible de remonter plus haut que 1823. C'est alors que M. E. Kaufmann, demeurant rue des Maçons-Sorbonne, no. 2, à Paris, lui envoya un extrait, en langue française, de la *Métamorphose* de Goethe, comme il lui avait envoyé des traductions des ouvrages de Kieser et de Runge" (pp. 572 ff.). No reference is made in that work either to Goethe's study of De Candolle.

reich," because in the beginning of the second paragraph he did not translate the words "plus particulièrement de la minéralogie." In the latter instance he rendered "corps brut" by "rohe Körper"; in the fourth paragraph by "anorganische Körper"; in the sixth "les organes" is rendered by "organische K." A similar freedom in rendering the same word by a different term appropriate to the context may be observed in the following examples:

(2) amorphe	gestaltlos
sous la forme de cristaux	als Krystalle gebildet
formes très-diverses	sehr verschiedene Gestalten
formes primitives	Urformen
formes secondaires	abgeleitete Formen

An even more important group of translated terms is that concerned with the conceptions of regularity:

(2) la régularité était dans leur nature intime	ihrer allerinnersten Natur ist die Regelmäßigkeit eigen
(3) anomalie	Abweichung
(4) il y a donc des rapports	es finden sich also Verhältnisse
(6) du genre de régularité	von einer gewissen Regelmäßigkeit
(7) assimiler	an die Seite stellen
l'ordre géométrique des corps bruts	das geometrische Gleichmaß in Gestaltung anorganischer Körper
la symétrie est dérangée	diese eigne Regel ist verletzt
symétrie	Gesetz
(8) analogie	Übereinstimmung
forme insolite	abweichend
monstruosité	Mißgestalt
espèce distincte	besondere Art
les moyens exacts de distinguer	alle Bestimmungs-Mittel genau zu unterscheiden
(9) dégénérence	Entartung (14: Vormindern)
les lois régulières	die Regeln und Gesetze
(11) véritablement distinct	wirklich unterschieden
(12) ce que sont les organes	die Eigentümlichkeit der Organe
(13) la nature primitive est la symétrie	die natürliche Anlage ist regelmäßig
altérer cette symétrie	stören
(symétrie) affaiblie ou détruite	verrückt oder unkenntlich gemacht
(14) espèces et genres	(a) Arten und Geschlechter
	(b) Geschlechter und Gattungen
avortement	(9) Mißgebühren
	(14) Mißrathen
(16) établir des lois	Gesetze anstellen
cadrer	übereinstimmend machen
(20) les faits de détail	besondere Fälle

The expressions relating to separation and connection are closely associated with this group:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) mélangées de | aus welcher hervorleuchten |
| (2) action simultanée | Zusammenwirken |
| se croisent et se compliquent | sich durchdringen und verschlingen |
| (3) compliqué | verwickelt |
| se soudent ensemble | sich zusammen verbinden |
| (9) soudure | Verschmelzen |
| (3) modes et degrés de leur agglomération | Arten und Stufen ihres Zusammen-tretens |
| (6) mathématiquement semblables | im mathematischen Sinne übereinstimmend |
| (16) rattacher (aux lois) | auf Gesetze zurückführen |

Chosen as it was by Goethe because it dealt with generalities rather than with details, this passage yields comparatively little with regard to specifically botanical terminology. Still the following translations are of interest:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (3) troncatures | Abstutzungen |
| molécules primitives | Urtheile (14: Grundtheilchen) |
| corolle | Krone |
| entaillé | eingeschnitten |
| découpure | Einschnitt |
| (6) pétales | Blätter (Blume) |
| (14) force vitale | Bildungstrieb |
| (16) organes minutieux | kleinliche Organe |
| (20) flore locale | örtliche Pflanzen-Mannigfaltigkeit |

By far the most important aspect of this translation is its abundance in striking versions of expressions relating to the theory and methods of science in general.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (1) on y a vu, pour ainsi dire | man ward gewahr |
| apparent | bedeutend |
| (8) insignifiant | unbedeutend |
| (1) la confirmation la plus élégante | die erfreulichste Bestätigung |
| (3) corps uniques | gegebene Körper |
| (3) tomber sous nos sens | in unsere Sinne fallen |
| (6) on est frappé | man wird gerührt |
| (9) considéré dans leur type | in Bezug auf ihren Typus betrachtet |
| (11) analyser | näher betrachten |
| prodigueusement | über Vermuthen |
| se défier de | sich in Acht nehmen |
| doute et circonspection | Vorsicht und Bedenken |
| citée avec hésitation | zweifelhaft |
| (12) indice | Andeutung |
| primitive | uranfänglich |
| (14) concevable par l'intelligence | durch den Verstand ergreifen |
| causes qui le déterminent | bestimmte Ursachen |
| (16) faits | (a) Ereignisse |
| | (b) Vorkommnisse |
| théorie réfléchie | durchdachte Theorie |
| (20) avoir la sanction de l'observation | durch Beobachtungen gekräftigt |
| l'économie de la science | der wissenschaftliche Haushalt |
| choisi sans méthode | ohne Methode herausgegriffen |
| (21) ce genre d'observation | höhere Betrachtungsart |

In a few instances, e.g., at the beginning and at the end of De Candolle's paragraph 7, Goethe condensed his version, but in several instances he slightly expanded the text for the sake of clarification; e.g.:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| (1) découvrir les lois | <i>verborgene</i> Gesetze entdecken |
| (11) rapprochement d'organes | Annäherung <i>fernscheinender</i> Organe |

It is outside the scope of the present note to explore the various aspects from which these translations are of interest with regard to Goethe's knowledge of French scientific terminology and to his own and, in general, to German scientific terminology. It may be assumed that the systematic study of Goethe's translations of French scientific texts would be scarcely less fruitful than that of his translations of English scientific texts, such as undertaken by the present writer.*

Goethe's interest in De Candolle's writings was so wide, so intense, and so personal that an account of this interest should occupy a prominent place in a survey of Goethe's knowledge of French literature and of world literature in general.

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* E.g., "Goethe's Interest in British Botany," *Proc. Linnean Soc. Lond.*, CLXI (1949), 199-207.

THE DUAL ROLE OF DULCINEA IN CERVANTES' *DON QUIJOTE DE LA MANCHA*

By EMILIO GOGGIO

Though many theories have been put forth to prove the identity of Dulcinea in Cervantes' *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, no definite solution has as yet been found to this perplexing problem.

Walter Savage Landor considered Dulcinea a medium for the most dexterous attack ever made against the worship of the Virgin;¹ Díaz de Benjumea regarded Dulcinea as the objective soul of Don Quijote and the knight's passion, Aldonza, the love of wisdom;² Colonel Villegas maintained that Don Quijote is the reforming liberal and Dulcinea the fatherland.³ Fitzmaurice Kelly, on the other hand, thoroughly disagrees with these views and charges their supporters with seeing in *Don Quijote* things of which Cervantes never dreamed.⁴

Among the more recent critics, Unamuno is of the opinion that Don Quijote joined in Dulcinea woman and glory and that since he could not perpetuate himself through her in deeds of the flesh, he sought to eternalize himself in deeds of the spirit;⁵ Madariaga claims that Dulcinea is glory and that she is for Don Quijote the incarnation of all the values (as one should say today) for which a knight can and should sacrifice himself;⁶ and Aubrey Bell, in explaining what he calls the "mystification of Dulcinea," affirms that Don Quijote transformed in his own mind a peasant girl into a princess of incomparable beauty and insisted upon imposing this idealized portrait of her upon the whole world.⁷

While there is some truth in most of the observations to which we have referred, our own feeling is that in Cervantes' masterpiece there are in reality two different Dulcineas, as there are two distinct and inseparable Don Quijotes, or rather that each of these characters plays a dual role in accordance with the two specific objects which the author set out to accomplish when he wrote the book. These, as stated in its Preface, were: first, to destroy the vogue of

¹ "Imaginary conversation between Peter Leopold and President du Paty," *Works* (London, 1876), III, 59.

² *La Verdad sobre el Quijote* (Madrid, 1878), p. 232.

³ *La Revolución Española* por D. Baldomero Villegas, Estudio tropológico de D. Quijote del sinpar Cervantes (Madrid, 1903), II, 50.

⁴ *Complete Works of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Don Quijote*, edited by Jas. Fitzmaurice Kelly, translated by John Ormsby (Glasgow: Gowans & Gray, August 1st, 1901), I, Introduction, xxv-xxvi.

⁵ *Life of Don Quijote and Sancho* according to Miguel Cervantes Saavedra, expounded by Miguel de Unamuno, translated by Homer P. Earle (New York and London, 1927), p. 60.

⁶ *Don Quijote, An Introductory Essay in Psychology*, by Salvador de Madariaga (Oxford, 1935), p. 95.

⁷ Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Cervantes* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1947), p. 125.

the romances of chivalry of that day which in subject matter, treatment, and style had sunk to a very low ebb; secondly, to bring forth the history of the famous Don Quijote, the light and mirror of all knight errantry, and revive thereby the practice of those lofty principles and ideals which formed the real essence of the old romances and which were now rapidly disappearing.

In order to achieve the former aim most effectively, Cervantes resorted to mockery and satire and caricatured the heroes and heroines of the romances of chivalry which he sought to ridicule out of existence.

Its principal character, the lean and lanky Don Quijote, who has been driven out of his wits through excessive reading of that type of literature, resolves to become a knight errant. Whereupon, he provides himself with a rusty armor, a helmet made of cardboard, and an old nag which has more blemishes than the steed of Godela. He has himself dubbed by an innkeeper whose youth was spent among thieves and vagabonds, doing many wrongs, cheating many widows, ruining maids and swindling minors, and bringing himself under the notice of every tribunal and court of justice in Spain.

When the investiture is over, Don Quijote hires as his squire Sancho, a short, stout, and ignorant peasant who, foolishly believing in Don Quixote's fantastic promises, is willing to follow him to the end of the world. Thus equipped he is now ready to start out in search of adventures which will enable him to perform the greatest feats of arms ever recorded in history.

But one thing remains to be done, namely, to look for a lady-love to whom he will send any giant that he will overthrow in an onslaught or cleave asunder to the waist, or vanquish or subdue, so that she may dispose of him at her pleasure.

After mature consideration Don Quijote chooses Aldonza Lorenzo, a native of Toboso, as the lady of his thoughts and confers upon her the musical and significant name of Dulcinea.

In spite of all this, however, Aldonza is not the sweet and lovely creature that one would expect, but is a coarse and uncouth peasant girl who attends to the meanest labors of the fields, threshes and winnows wheat, and has the best hand in La Mancha for salting pigs. Strong and vigorous through hard labor, she vies with the opposite sex in deeds of strength and can fling a crowbar as well as the lustiest lad in her home town.

Aldonza has no feminine charms. She holds no warm place in Don Quijote's heart. If he is enamored of her, it is only because of his desire to comply with a common practice in the romances of chivalry which requires that every knight errant be in love. "Yo soy

enamorado no más de que es forzoso que los caballeros andantes lo sean."⁸

That Don Quijote's love for Aldonza is only a matter of convention is again clearly evident in his answer to his squire who expresses amazement at his having chosen her as Dulcinea instead of a lady of rank. To convince him that there is nothing strange about his procedure, Don Quijote cites, by way of parallel, the crude example of a wealthy and accomplished widow who, on being severely criticized for having fallen in love with a young idiot rather than with a man of learning, simply retorts that for all she wanted him, he knew as much philosophy as Aristotle and even more. To which Don Quijote adds: "Así que, Sancho, por lo que yo quiero a Dulcinea del Toboso tanto vale como la más alta princesa de la tierra."⁹

Whenever the occasion presents itself, Sancho never hesitates to make derogatory remarks concerning Dulcinea's physical appearance and daily habits. On being asked by Don Quijote to deliver a message to her and not knowing where she lived, he immediately thinks of looking for her, not in a castle, but in a cheap house in a blind alley in one of the most disreputable quarters of the city.

The travesty is carried still further when Sancho announces to Don Quijote the arrival of Dulcinea and in so doing points out to him a vulgar peasant girl, snub-nosed and squint-eyed, whose breath reeks of garlic. Our gallant knight is naturally taken aback by all this, and promptly blames the enchanter, his mortal enemy, for having changed his beautiful Dulcinea into that ugly personage. Yet, notwithstanding his disappointment one cannot help but feel that he welcomes the opportunity of taking a fling at her himself.

He actually does so by comparing her hair to the bristles of a red ox's tail and by maliciously inferring that her beauty is raised to the highest pitch of perfection by a large mole she has on her upper lip like a moustache, with seven or eight red hairs like threads of gold and more than a palm long.¹⁰

Obviously Dulcinea as represented by Aldonza could have no influence whatever on Don Quijote. Indeed it could not be otherwise since his exploits were those of a madman who mistook one thing for another, hurled himself rashly into the fray, and invariably came out of it battered and bruised.

However, when Cervantes' efforts are directed toward the realization of the second object of his novel, parody and burlesque disappear completely and are replaced by gravity, solemnity, and seriousness of splendid purpose. Consequently, though the two main characters are still the same in name, they are totally different in behavior, spirit, and temperament.

⁸ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Espasa Calpe, Quinta Edición (Buenos Aires, 1943), p. 507. All succeeding references to *Don Quijote* are to this edition.

⁹ *Don Quijote*, p. 155.

¹⁰ *Don Quijote*, p. 398.

Don Quijote, from the senseless and ludicrous figure that he was, is transformed into a perfect knight errant, the sanest of all men in a mad world, the true patriot and Christian soldier who is eager to serve his God and his king and is determined to fight against all odds in order to eradicate pride,¹¹ to protect innocent women against the snares and wickedness of men,¹² to teach human kind to be honest and honorable,¹³ to destroy the enemies of the Christian faith,¹⁴ and to uphold the right to freedom and liberty at any cost.¹⁵

He is a knight errant through the will of God¹⁶ and in order to exercise that profession he must be adorned with all the cardinal and theological virtues; he must be faithful to his Maker and to his lady, and must be chaste in all his thoughts.¹⁷ The ultimate aim of his existence is not to seek the fame that can be acquired in this present transitory life, but rather to win that future glory which is everlasting in the ethereal regions of Heaven.¹⁸

This transformation of Don Quijote is followed by a corresponding radical change in Dulcinea. In her new role she is the direct opposite of Aldonza Lorenzo. Her name now assumes the full significance which Don Quijote intended it to have when he first conceived it.¹⁹

She has dignity, modesty, and nobility. In some respects she resembles Oriana in the *Amadís de Gaula*,²⁰ one of the main sources of Cervantes' work. But though Oriana, too, is the most beautiful of all women and possesses admirable qualities, she is not free from human weaknesses. Indeed, she is jealous, vindictive, passionate, and cruel. She gives herself to Amadís and is with child long before their marriage. To protect herself against insidious gossip and escape punishment for her immoral action, she does not hesitate to

¹¹ The adventure of the wind mills, *Don Quijote*, Part I, Chap. 7.

¹² The adventure of the two friars, *Don Quijote*, Part I, Chap. 8.

¹³ The adventure of Andrés and his master, *Don Quijote*, Part I, Chap. 4.

¹⁴ The adventure of the sheep, *Don Quijote*, Part I, Chap. 18.

¹⁵ The adventure of the galley slaves, *Don Quijote*, Part I, Chap. 22.

¹⁶ "(Voy) ejercitando el oficio para que Dios me echó al mundo." *Don Quijote*, p. 328.

¹⁷ *Don Quijote*, p. 437.

¹⁸ *Don Quijote*, p. 328.

¹⁹ *Dulcinea* is derived from the root of the Latin noun *dulcedo* which means "sweetness" in the general sense and "graciousness and beatitude" in the moral sense. (This definition of "sweetness" appears in Webster's *New International Dictionary*, 1949.) The Latin suffix *-ineus* (feminine *-inea*), according to the view generally accepted by philologists, signifies "having the nature of" or "possessing." In our opinion, however, it consists of the preposition *in* an adjectival ending derived from *ire*, to go, and could also imply "leading" or "conductive to." (Cf. English "erroneous," wrong or misleading, i.e. "leading into error.") That this was the meaning that Don Quijote himself intended to give to the suffix *-inea* may be inferred from the phrase "que tirase y se encaminase (al de princesa)" which he uses in explaining the significance of that name especially coined by him. If our theory is correct, therefore, *Dulcinea* means "possessing or leading to happiness, graciousness, or beatitude."

²⁰ Published probably in 1508.

separate herself from her offspring and allow him to be brought up secretly by strangers.

Dulcinea, on the other hand, has no faults, no imperfections of any kind. She has beauty of soul as well as beauty of body,²¹ and beauty of soul implies "grace, something which provokes moral pleasure or moral satisfaction, perfection."²² She is more divine than human. The power she exerts on Don Quijote's mind and soul is supernatural. She transfers herself wholly in him and becomes his inspiration, the prime mover of all his actions, the breath of life without which he could not exist. "Dulcinea toma mi brazo por instrumento de sus hazañas. Ella pelea en mí y yo vivo y respiro en ella y tengo vida y ser."²³

In these particular aspects of Dulcinea's character, the influence of the later Provençal poets is easily perceived. The early troubadours depicted their respective ladies as extraordinarily beautiful, noble, dignified, and wise. After the Albigensian crusade, when the Virgin Mary, whose cult had been originally denied, became the greatest and only muse, the poets applied to her the conventional language of love. Later they attributed her moral virtues to the ladies of their thoughts.²⁴ Having done so, they no longer felt that they had any special claim to her attentions, but considered it fitting and proper that others, too, should love and admire her.

"Gilos non suy, qui s'amor vol aver de lieys, qu'ieu am," writes the distinguished troubadour Guirant Riquier, "ans n'ay mot grant plazer, e'm desplay fort qu'amar non la denha quar per s'amor crey cert que tots bes venha."²⁵ "I am not jealous, rather I rejoice that others seek her love, and I am sorry for the one who does not deign to love her, because I believe that every good proceeds from her love."

Don Quijote's attitude towards Dulcinea is the same as that of Riquier and of other Provençal poets. He is not the only one to worship at her shrine and the privilege of doing so is its own reward. "Has de saber," he says to Sancho, "que en este nuestro estilo de caballería es gran honra tener una dama muchos caballeros andantes que la sirvan, sin que se extienden más sus pensamientos que a servilla por solo ser ella quien es, sin esperar otro premio de sus muchos y buenos deseos sino que ella se contente de acetarlos por sus caballeros." To which Sancho replies: "Con esa manera de

²¹ "Hay dos maneras de hermosuras," says Don Quijote, "una del alma y otra del cuerpo." *Don Quijote*, p. 634.

²² This definition of "beauty" is given in Webster's *New International Dictionary*. "Belleza" is defined as "armonía y perfección de las personas, o de las cosas, que nos hace amarlas con deleite espiritual" in La Fuente, *Diccionario enciclopédico ilustrado de la lengua española* publicado bajo la dirección de Alemany Bolufer (Barcelona, 1946).

²³ *Don Quijote*, p. 197.

²⁴ P. Savi-Lopes, *Trovatori e Poeti* (Palermo, 1906), p. 36.

²⁵ Savi-Lopes, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

amor he oído yo predicar que se ha de amar a Nuestro Señor, por sí solo sin que nos mueva esperanza de gloria o temor de pena."²⁶

That Cervantes should follow the practice of the later Provençal poets in his creation of Dulcinea is not surprising. In the first place, such a portrayal is in keeping with the character of Don Quijote which is essentially Christian and also with his mission on earth which is primarily religious.²⁷ Secondly, Cervantes himself was especially devoted to the Holy Virgin and wrote odes in her honor during his captivity in Algiers. He had boundless faith in the Rosary and spoke of it as "la estrella que me guía en este mar de aflicción al puerto de alegría."²⁸ This same sentiment, by the way, is expressed by Don Quijote in reference to Dulcinea whom he calls "la estrella de mi aventura,"²⁹ "el norte de mis caminos,"³⁰ "el único refugio de mis esperanzas."³¹

In our judgment, Cervantes was also influenced by Petrarch in his treatment of Dulcinea. The phrase "respiro y vivo en ella" which has been mentioned above³² may well be traced to the line "per voi conven ch'io arda e 'n voi respire" which appears in his sonnet beginning "Oimè il bel viso."³³ We know that our Spanish author was intimately acquainted with the *Canzoniere*³⁴ and that he lived in Italy during the Renaissance at a time when Petrarch and Petrarchism were very prevalent.³⁵ Because of all this it is hardly conceiv-

²⁶ *Don Quijote*, p. 203. It is probably this passage which suggested to Benjumea the idea that Don Quijote's devotion to Dulcinea symbolizes that of the Spanish people to the Queen of Heaven. Benjumea, *La Verdad sobre el Quijote*, p. 229.

²⁷ "Muchos son los caminos por donde lleva Dios a los suyos al cielo," says Don Quijote to Sancho; "religión es la caballería; caballeros santos hay en la gloria." *Don Quijote*, pp. 389-90.

²⁸ See Aubrey Bell, *Cervantes*, p. 75.

²⁹ *Don Quijote*, p. 191.

³⁰ *Don Quijote*, p. 496.

³¹ *Don Quijote*, p. 191.

³² See page 289 of this article.

³³ F. Petrarca, *Rime*, CCLXVI.

³⁴ In Chapter XIII of Part II, Sancho's acknowledgment of his debt to his master for the noted improvement in his mind and character is apparently taken from Petrarch's *canzone* beginning "Perchè la vita è breve" (*Canzoniere*, LXXI, lines 102-105). A comparison of the two may be of interest here. "Sí, que algo me ha de pegar de la discreción de vuesa merced," says Sancho; "que las tierras que de suyo son estériles y secas, estercolándolas vienen a dar buenos frutos; quiero decir que la conversación de vuesa merced ha sido el estiércol que sobre la estéril tierra de mi seco ingenio ha caído." *Don Quijote*, p. 404.

And Petrarca, addressing Laura, declares:

". . . S'alcun bel frutto
Nasce di me, da voi vien prima il seme;
Io per me son quasi un terreno asciutto,
Colto da voi e'l pregio è vostro in tutto."

³⁵ His familiarity with other Italian writers such as Sannazaro, Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tansillo is also evident in his works. In Chapter XXXIII of Part I we have a fine example of Petrarchism in the following lines

Busco en la muerte la vida,
Salud en la enfermedad,
En la prisión libertad,
En lo cerrado salida

able that he should not have been inspired by the Italian poet's verses before and after the death of Laura as well as by his famous *canzone* on the Virgin Mary, all of which are most beautifully expressive of such human and superhuman qualities as are found in Dulcinea.

From all that has been said it is safe to conclude that Dulcinea plays a dual role. In one instance, she is Aldonza Lorenzo, a woman of flesh and blood, belonging to the lower classes. She is unattractive, uninspiring, totally wanting in intellectual accomplishments, and like the insane knight, Don Quijote, she is but an instrument of parody and satire. In the second instance, Dulcinea is a creature of the author's own imagination, the symbol of beauty, goodness, and grace. Cervantes bestowed upon her all the finest physical and mental qualities which the poets of all ages applied to the respective mistresses of their thoughts. He combined them with the moral virtues which the later Provençal poets and Petrarch attributed to their own and to the Virgin Mary, and by so doing he made of Dulcinea the supreme example of the courtly lady, and the perfect counterpart of Don Quijote, "the light and mirror of all knight-errantry."

It seems to us that there is nothing unnatural about Dulcinea playing a double role. Indeed it is quite possible for two points of view to dwell in one being since one emerges from the other and both are a projection of Don Quijote's imagination.

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Y en el traidor lealtad.
 Pero mi suerte, de quien
 Jamás espero algún bien,
 Con el cielo ha estatuido
 Que, pues lo imposible pido,
 Lo posible aun no me den.

Though the poet from whom these verses are taken is not mentioned by Cervantes, it is obvious that they are based on Petrarch's Sonnet CXXXIV, "Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra," which was repeatedly imitated by Renaissance poets.

PARDO BAZAN AND THE SPANISH PROBLEM

By RONALD HILTON

The centenary of the birth of Emilia Pardo Bazán is leading to a reëxamination not only of her well-known novels but also of her abundant nonfictional prose writings, which are an unequaled guide to the life and thought of Spain at the turn of the century.

The Spanish problem was the nucleus of Doña Emilia's thought. It became almost an obsession with her as a reaction against the indifference of the Spanish public, whose behavior proved that it had no sense of responsibility:

Sólo que aquí, en esta bendita tierra siempre original, no valen correspondencias. El día en que debiéramos ser Heráclito, con un pañuelo del tamaño de una toalla, somos el Demócrito que se descalza de risa; el día en que no tenemos un ochavo, le rompemos la crisma á una onza; el día en que nos embargan; convidamos al alguacil; el día en que hacemos bancarrota, organizamos una corrida monstro, y el día en que nos entierran, resucitamos tocando las castañuelas y zapateando seguidillas gitanas.¹

Doña Emilia was pleasantly surprised in 1896 to see that, with two colonial wars on their hands, Spaniards were beginning to show a little concern.

In contrast with the frivolity which, as commonly stated by Spanish writers of the period, characterized the public of the Restoration, Pardo Bazán displayed not only *seriedad* (to use a word explicably dear to the Generation of 1898) as far as Spain was concerned, but an almost melodramatic preoccupation regarding the world at large:

En la sociedad contemporánea y en la época azarosa presente, no es mucho que haya neuróticos y descontentos: que al cabo, por dondequiera que esparcimos la vista negrea la noche, sin que el alba despunte en parte alguna. Pavorosos problemas sociales y políticos irguiéndose y pidiendo solución; atarazadas y roídas las raíces de la autoridad; cundiendo el indiferentismo religioso, que trae consigo el moral y nacional; cansadas y descreídas las razas viejas, nihilistas las nuevas ¿de dónde ha de venimos el contentamiento y la autoridad?²

It was this universal anxiety which made Pardo Bazán examine the world as a whole, weigh the different nations composing it, and evaluate the fecundity and future of their civilizations.

This general examination was always carried out with an implicit reference to Spain. For Doña Emilia, the great problem was the Hispanic problem, not only because Spain was her country, but also because few countries have had so tragic a history as the Peninsula. She saw modern Spanish history as an almost uninterrupted series of civil wars, that is to say of national failures. In December, 1887, Pardo Bazán undertook her pilgrimage to Rome, as described in

¹ "Días nublados," *De siglo a siglo*, in *Obras completas* (Madrid, n.d.), XXIV, 53.

² *Los poetas épicos cristianos*, p. 116.

Mi romería. In the chapter "Mi romería en siluetas," she sketches one by one the occupants of her compartment in the special train which took the pilgrims as far as the French frontier (Hendaya). Among them was a stiff and staunch Carlist, who recited the *Romancero carlista*.³

Cuando allá a lo lejos veíamos azulear los picos de la sierra de Gorbea,⁴ y otros muchos, testigos de tanto mortífero encuentro, de tanta carnicería, de tanto derramamiento de sangre, la voz del romero, que conmovido y con los ojos llenos de lágrimas, nos decía versos de los que huelen a pólvora y chamusquina, parecía evocar el espectro de la guerra civil, la visión poética y terrible que desde más de medio siglo acá flota, como rojiza niebla, sobre las montañas de la patria española.

Doña Emilia proceeds to make a generalization as tragic as it is true: "Esto de la guerra civil es un canto de la epopeya eterna de España; es una fibra elástica y sensible de nuestro cuerpo; es el latido de nuestro valor indisciplinado e impaciente, de nuestra anárquica afición a lo que en ningún país tiene nombre tan expresivo como aquí: *echarse al campo*."⁵

Pardo Bazán's first experience of a revolution was a major one—that of 1868, which, after a number of commas, put a full stop to the reign of Isabel II. Doña Emilia was eighteen years old and naturally very impressionable. It was this social cataclysm which awakened her to the problem of Spain. Her experience was similar to that of most sensitive and intelligent Spaniards born about the middle of the century. She compares herself in this respect with the Basque writer Arturo Campión:⁶

En los catorce frisaba Arturo Campión al estallar aquella *setembrina*⁷ que a tantos nos despertó del pálido ensueño de la adolescencia, revelándonos por primera vez el mundo de la acción y de la lucha. Cuando llegó a Pamplona la noticia de haber "caído para siempre la raza espúria," etc.,⁸ el padre de Campión, afiliado a la unión liberal,⁹ mostró gran regocijo; la madre, al oír

³ Unfortunately, the ballads written by the Carlists to exalt their cause have never been collected or studied.

⁴ Mount Gorbea, on the borders of Alava and Vizcaya, to the southeast of Orozco. Gorbea can be seen in the distance (twenty miles away) from the Burgos-San Sebastián line, just before the train reaches Vitoria.

⁵ *Mi romería*, pp. 24-25.

⁶ Arturo Campión y Jaime-Bou: an erudite Basque philologist and an assiduous contributor to *Euskal-Erria*. He is better known for his novel *La bella Easo*, a picture of life in San Sebastián.

⁷ Pardo Bazán normally uses this convenient word to describe the Revolution of 1868. Prim's first manifesto was published at Cadiz on Saturday, September 19, 1868.

⁸ The popular motto of the 1868 revolution was "Cayó para siempre la raza espuria de los Borbones; en justo castigo de su perversidad." Successive governments ordered this offensive and too-frequent inscription to be erased from walls, and the official motto of the Republic, "Libertad, Igualdad, Fraternidad" was painted on all public buildings by the authorities; but the people never accepted this superseding of their cry.

⁹ The "Unión Liberal" was formed in June, 1858, when O'Donnell became prime minister and grouped around him the mass of liberals; political and military offices were given chiefly to those who had taken part in the 1854 revolution.

sonar por las calles el himno de Riego,¹⁰ prorrumpió en llanto. Escena elocuente, dualidad perpetua del hogar español, símbolo de las dos corrientes en que se divide nuestra patria, la España estática y la España dinámica, el ayer y el hoy irreconciliables.¹¹

As we shall see, the struggle between "la Vieja España" and "la Nueva España" is the axis around which all the political thought of Pardo Bazán gyrates.

The next major crisis in Spanish history occurred in 1898. For the period around this crucial date we have a document of extreme value, but which has attracted practically no attention: Doña Emilia's *De siglo a siglo*, which deals with the years from 1896 to 1901. The reactions of the Spanish public in those tragic moments mystified her. When the crisis began, a spirit of apathy and mediocrity was descending on Spain. By a curious coincidence, the Teatro Real, then a center of Madrid social life, had closed its doors. Carnival was dying out and its patron, *Momo*, was being forgotten. Lent was likewise becoming a dead letter. With the outbreak of the crisis, there was an admirable reaction of popular patriotism. In the lower quarters of Madrid, the women made a black-faced effigy of the mulatto Maceo, leader of the Cuban rebels, and proceeded, according to custom, to toss it in a blanket. The Spanish government, for some unstated reason, prohibited these healthy manifestations of popular feeling, much to Pardo Bazán's disgust: "Juego más inocente y patriótico dudo que se le ocurriese a ninguna española castiza, desde los tiempos en que las gaditanas hacían tirabuzones con las bombas francesas."¹² On the other hand, the government had nothing to say when, in the midst of defeat and death, carnival festivities began to flourish once more, the public having decided that the simplest solution was to laugh and not think about the nation. Pardo Bazán was amazed: "Por momentos, al presenciar la carnavalesca algazara, se me oprimía el corazón. Recuerdos y temores lo asaltaban; escenas horribles se desarrollaban en mi fantasía. ¡Tantos muertos! Tanta gente moza que se embarca diariamente, y o regresa moribunda o regresa jamás. . . . ¡Enigma, eterno enigma; España, esfinge de las naciones!"¹³ She recalls the remark made by Ivan Turgenev during his exile in Paris: "a la santa Rusia no se la puede comprender, pero hay que amarla." Pardo Bazán applies this remark to Spain and adds: "Amarla . . . y tal vez llorarla, como a los muertos queridos."

Most distressing to Doña Emilia was the silence of Spanish writers concerning the tragedy of '98. Even in them, the spontaneous reactions of patriotism seemed to be dead: "Los literatos famosos de España no han abierto la boca en esta ocasión. Escribíame un italiano

¹⁰ The liberal hymn which greeted Riego when he entered Malaga in 1820 and has ever since been the song of Spanish liberals.

¹¹ "El fuerismo en la novela," *Polémicas y estudios literarios*, p. 266.

¹² *De siglo a siglo*, p. 12.

¹³ "Resurrección," *De siglo a siglo*, p. 68.

hace pocos días: 'En España no debe de haber poetas, cuando no han cantado ni llorado la catástrofe nacional.' Otro tanto podría afirmarse de los prosistas. El estupor, el coma, se les ha pegado a las Musas."¹⁴ One of the few notable books written on the occasion of the '98 tragedy was *El problema nacional* (1899) of Macías Picavea. Contrast this with the inspiration Quintana found in the events of 1808, and Núñez de Arce in those of 1868!¹⁵ Doña Emilia is perhaps unjust. Although Spaniards did not write very much under the inspiration of the tragedy, they felt deeply and talked passionately, in particular Costa.

Pardo Bazán proposed a radical solution. Whereas a prosperous nation can allow itself the luxury of *l'art pour l'art*, a country like Spain, struggling to find its feet, must have a utilitarian literature, with the national problem and its remedy as the main theme:

Un pueblo próspero, feliz, con amplios horizontes, es natural que tenga una literatura que, volando por esfera superior, no aspire a más fin que realizar y expresar la hermosura objetiva o la verdad íntima, el lirismo. Un pueblo como el español, tan decaído, necesitaría más bien una literatura de acción estimulante y tónica, despertadora de energías y fuerzas, remediadora de daños.¹⁶

There had always been a certain utilitarian trend in Doña Emilia's work; after 1898, the quasi-propagandist idea became predominant in her writings. This new period was inaugurated by the lecture she gave in Paris in 1899, entitled "La España de ayer y la de hoy." In spite of this apparently new orientation, it must be pointed out that her most important works had already appeared and that this tendency had been evident in them. This transformation would, she felt, give real vitality to Spanish literature, a vitality lacking in even the most popular genre, the novel. Doña Emilia, who traveled regularly between Spain and France, had this fact impressed upon her only too often at the frontier:

Viniendo de Francia he notado mil veces un hecho significativo, y es que en la estación francesa de Hendaya existe un puesto donde se venden todas las novelas nuevas y celebradas, mientras en Irún, a dos pasos como quien dice, pero estación española, ya no se encuentra sino algún libraco verde subido, y ni rastro de las obras de nuestros novelistas ilustres—sería inexacto llamarles famosos.—Desde que sentamos el pie en territorio español, desaparece la novela como elemento social.

The novelists themselves, adds Pardo Bazán, are to blame because, unlike those of Russia, they are not in touch with the people and problems of their country. She exhorts them to learn this lesson from Russian novelists: they must strive to "ponerse en comunicación misteriosa con las almas y las inteligencias de los 60 millones de seres humanos que hablan hoy la lengua hispana."¹⁷ Doña Emilia

¹⁴ "Asfixia," *De siglo a siglo*, p. 163.

¹⁵ "Núñez de Arce," *Retratos y apuntes literarios*, p. 78.

¹⁶ "Asfixia," *op. cit.*, p. 163.

¹⁷ *La revolución y la novela en Rusia*, pp. 443-44.

seems to be going somewhat far; the average reader would deem that any novelist would have enough occupations and preoccupations with the problems which beset the twenty odd millions in the Peninsula.

Pardo Bazán, whose intellectual pretensions were at times extravagant and who suffered from a certain Russomania, wanted to create in Spain an *intelligentsia* on the Russian model; these pilots would become the spiritual captains of Spain and steer the country, with daring seamanship, through the uncharted oceans of the future:

No sería difícil reclutar en España una numerosa *inteligencia* de poetas, escritores, periodistas, artistas, políticos y sabios, gente toda que trata en ideas; mas la diferencia está en que la *inteligencia* española carece de unidad, se divide en campos opuestos, y buena parte de ella huye de la lid social y política para mantenerse en la serena esfera del arte, mientras en Rusia la *inteligencia* representa una causa común, un espíritu homogéneo, profundamente subversivo [*sic*] y revolucionario. Escribir la historia de las modernas letras en Rusia equivale a escribir la de la revolución.¹⁸

Despite her traditionalism, Doña Emilia often played with the idea of revolution, which was nothing of a nightmare to her; her main, her only, obsession was that the Spanish problem should be faced decisively. The crisis of '98 brought about what Pardo Bazán wanted, with the formation of the Generation of '98 and the crystallization of the body of *intelectuales*, a word which probably rose to favor by analogy with the word *intelligentsia*.

Doña Emilia was so engrossed with this idea that she came at times to look upon herself as a prophet. Her attitude, which now seems decidedly strained, was similar to that of Victor Hugo when he attempted to play the prophet and "le mage." Indeed, it is possible that Doña Emilia was aping Hugo, although she never became a *Jocrisse sur Patmos*. She felt it incumbent upon her to throw a fatidical light upon the banes and woes of Spain. These jeremiads were not to the liking of many of her readers. Doña Emilia replied hotly: "Me escriben desde América varios españoles, quejosos de mi pesimismo, lamentándose de que insista en señalar vicios de la patria. Crean aquellos españoles de honrada intención, pero equivocadísimos, que se hace un bien a las naciones contribuyendo a engañarlas y a engreír las en falso."¹⁹ In order that her prophetic voice might reach the masses, Pardo Bazán wrote regularly for a dozen or so newspapers of wide circulation, including *El Imparcial*, *El Liberal*, *El Español*, and *La Epoca*. Such at least is the explanation which Pardo Bazán gives,²⁰ although a cynic might suggest that she was not totally indifferent to the pecuniary stimulus which normally prompts eminent Spanish writers to feed the newspaper presses.

¹⁸ *La revolución y la novela en Rusia*, pp. 160-61.

¹⁹ "Asfixia," *op. cit.*, p. 165.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

Like Unamuno and most other Peninsular writers harassed by the Spanish problem, Pardo Bazán repeatedly declares that her love of Spain is deeper than politics:

Sobre el teje maneje de la política circunstancial, al més, a la semana, al minuto, pongo el interés de España, visto con amplitud y a largo plazo . . . al plazo del *siglo futuro*. [This is a delightfully ironical reference to the title of the newspaper which was conducting a campaign against Doña Emilia.] Más que los programas de periódico, estimo la felicidad de mi nación.²¹

In January, 1891, the first number of the *Nuevo Teatro Crítico* appeared. It is a monumental testimony to the literary fertility of Pardo Bazán. Like the *Spectator* of Addison, it was not only edited but actually written by Doña Emilia. It appeared once a month, each number having nearly one hundred pages. It was to be continued as long as the inspiration or, as some would say, the caprice of the authoress lasted. In point of fact, it was published until 1893: a life of three years.²² The first number opens with a "Presentación," in which Pardo Bazán describes the object of the publication. She deals at length with her political criterion, repeating that she is interested not in party politics but only in the good of Spain:

Realmente, la anómala situación de la mujer respecto a derechos políticos, nos permite (del mal el menos) pensar y sentir con absoluta independencia, sobre todo cuando ningún individuo de la familia está ligado por intereses o simpatías a agrupación política alguna. Para mí, la óptica del problema político es radicalmente distinta que para los políticos militantes: ellos ven el advenimiento o la caída de *los suyos*; yo veo a España . . . que patria, dígame la verdad, aun no nos han prohibido tenerla a las mujeres.²³

There is possibly a contradiction between the ironical complaints, typical of Doña Emilia's active feminism, about women's political incapacity in Spain, and the claim that this very position gives them a wider view of national problems.

The decadence of Spain has roots much deeper than mere politics. Meditating on the Paris Exhibition of 1889, Pardo Bazán cannot help feeling that Spain, a country of great natural resources and immense possibilities, has tried successively but quite unsuccessfully the various well-advertised political formulas. She therefore describes Spanish decadence as "desorganización o desbarajuste general, con aleación de atonía y pereza";²⁴ or, to use a word dear to the Generation of '98, "abulia."

The Spanish problem may thus be considered as a struggle between static Spain—too static—and dynamic Spain—alas, anarchically so. Pardo Bazán normally uses the terms "Vieja España" and "Nueva España." The struggle between these two forces is the subject of the famous article "Confesión política," first published in *El Imparcial*

²¹ "Coletilla a *Mi romería*," p. 288.

²² "Despedida," *Nuevo Teatro Crítico*, III, Num. 29, pp. 298 ff.

²³ *Nuevo Teatro Crítico*, I, Num. 1, p. 18.

²⁴ *Al pie de la Torre Eiffel*, p. 305.

and later as Chapter II of the "Epílogo" to *Mi romería*; it was written to satisfy demands that she explain her political "attitude" and say whether or not she had dissociated herself from the Carlist movement. Her answer was to study more or less impartially the struggle between "la Vieja España" and "la Nueva España." Whereas countries such as Germany and England have enjoyed a fairly regular development, Spanish history, she says, has for a century been an erratic and fruitless feud between these two opposing forces:

Otros países, verbi gracia España, pueden ofrecerse como tipo y modelo de la zozobra perpetua, del desacuerdo consigo mismo. Desde principios del siglo harto sabemos que no ha lucido para nosotros un solo día sin guerra civil, ya desembozada y en armas, ya latente en el parlamento, en la prensa, en el libro, en el alma, que es peor . . . de ochenta años acá España anda partida en dos hemisferios que cabe nombrar, a imitación de los del mundo, la Vieja y la Nueva España, hermanas irreconciliables como el Eteocles y el Polinice del gran trágico de Eleusis.²⁸

Pardo Bazán's political thought is based on this antithesis, and its development corresponds to the variations of her partisanship in the struggle. At first she favored one side, then the other, but more often she inclined toward reconciliation. Unfortunately, most Spanish intellectuals failed to follow her excellent example of moderation, and the consequences of this were apparent in the subsequent history of Spain.

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²⁸ "Confesión política," *Mi romería*, pp. 195-96.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF RABELAIS' *FIFTH BOOK*: MUSICAL CRITERIA*

By NAN COOKE CARPENTER

Since the authenticity of Rabelais' *Fifth Book* has long been an open question, any evidence which weights the balance on one side or the other is of interest and importance. Unremarked up to now by scholars are certain musical criteria, which reveal very definite conclusions on this point. In a word, Rabelais' musical rhetoric, although widely varied in detail, follows a beautifully consistent plan in over-all pattern, a pattern which strengthens the argument that the *Fifth Book* is largely Rabelais' own work; for judged by its musical allusions, this book is the logical and artistic culmination of the preceding four. Here we are concerned with only one aspect of this musical rhetoric—the curious fact that certain ideas associated constantly with musical imagery for which the pattern has been formulated in the first four books rise to a startling climax in the last book, sometimes foreshadowed by a lesser climax in the *Fourth Book*. It is remarkable that this trend holds for all phases of music embraced by our author—musical instruments, song both secular and sacred, the dance, and musical techniques and ideas. And in the light of this tendency one can only conclude that no mere imitator could have been so consistently discriminating in musical usage as was our author throughout the novel, and hence that Rabelais was responsible, in large measure at least, for the *Fifth Book*.

One very large part of Rabelais' musical rhetoric is based upon the various instruments of music, for which the associations are so consistent as to become a form of symbolism. Two of these ideas constantly associated with musical instruments become especially climactic in the *Fifth Book*. The first of these is ecclesiastical satire based upon the ringing of bells, which from the beginning apparently meant for Rabelais a compulsion to routine at which his spirit revolted. Early in the novel, for instance, Frère Jean parodies the Gospel with unmistakable meaning, saying that hours are made for man and not man for hours; and a very attractive feature of the utopian Thélème is a total lack of clocks and bells. Worship by the clock also signified to our author worship only in outward appearance, symbolized by the ringing of bells. This is forcibly expressed in the *Fourth Book* with the Episode of the Decretals foreshadowing l'Isle Sonante. But the whole idea comes to a real climax in the Isle Sonante sequence whose bells characterize the island physically, add a dimension of sound to its many liturgical activities, and act as stimuli for all the

* Paper read at the meeting of the Modern Language Association in Detroit, December 28, 1951.

singing which takes place, described always in highly derogatory terms.

Entirely different is another bit of musical symbolism which comes to a focus in the *Fifth Book*—the harmoniousness of the organ. Throughout the narrative this instrument is *princeps instrumentorum* for Rabelais, and all references to it are tinged with admiration and awe, even when found within an ironic context. But in the last book the harmoniousness of the organ becomes a subject for dramatization, characterizing the harmoniousness of Hellenic life and studies concentrated at the Court of Entelechie and personified by the queen Quinte Essence. The curing of the sick here to strains of organ music is Rabelais' loftiest and at the same time most practical expression of the therapeutic value of music—a genuine *argumentum ad oculos*. Earlier in the novel music and medicine have been mingled, again in a lofty sense, when Panurge compares the harmony of the blood—a form of microcosmic harmony—to the macrocosmic harmony, the music of the spheres; and unlike law and theology, medicine itself is never an object of satire. At Entelechie, however, the idea comes to life, as ill and ailing people are brought in to be cured by the organ's wondrous music. The episode is tied to reality in the fact that parts of the instrument are made of healing plants used in contemporary medical practice—the very same plants, indeed, listed earlier as purgatives for Pantagruel. And the marvelous musical therapeutics objectify the Pythagorean power of number, the harmony of mathematical proportions. But the significant point is that these ideas which merge and materialize at Entelechie—the harmoniousness of the organ, the relation of music to medicine, the power of numerical proportion—are those which have colored episodes and scenes in earlier books of the novel, not something new with the author of the *Fifth Book*.

A similar pattern appears in Rabelais' use of the chanson. This popular form, generally light and frivolous, proved unusually apt, in Rabelais' hands, for heightening risqué episodes in the narrative and for producing an atmosphere of whimsy or mock-seriousness, as in the introduction of Panurge to the tune of "Faulte d'argent," a *chanson satirique* set to music several times by sixteenth-century composers. (Panurge, one recalls, "estoit . . . subject de nature à une maladie qu'on appelloit en ce temps-là 'Faulte d'argent, c'est douleur non pareille.'") An especially amusing bit of whimsy colors the Lanternois banquet in the *Fifth Book* as certain refrains ("Des mirelaridaines," "Du tire toy la") are served as food. Humorously finding these songs good enough to eat, Rabelais characteristically has the refrains materialize: he uses these refrains—ordinarily connecting links between song-verses—as connecting links between courses of a banquet.

Although lines from chansons or short refrains are scattered throughout the novel, in the Nouveau Prologue to the *Fourth Book* emphasis on the chanson reaches a climax, at several different levels, with two large catalogues of contemporary and near-contemporary composers. Including some older composers—like Ockeghem, Obrecht, Agricola—and such later ones as Gombert, Willaert, and Arcadelt, the list significantly enough is headed by Josquin des Prés, who is always signaled as the leading composer of the day by his contemporaries. Comprising in all fifty-eight distinguished men (most of whom turned their talents to musical settings of the chanson, among other forms), the list, first of all, overwhelms the reader by sheer weight of number. And secondly, in the incongruity of the whole scene, Rabelais achieves one of his most magnificent pieces of irony—in having these men, most of them better known for their sacred than secular works and many of them illustrious members of distinguished choirs, congregate in a most mundane setting and sing a very ribald song. The chanson they sing is also a part of this climax, for, quoted in its entirety, it is perhaps the most scabrous of any cited or suggested in the novel. And finally, the whole scene is dominated by Janequin whose famous musical setting, the "Bataille de Marignan," dominates the Episode of the Frozen Words farther along in the same book in much the same manner. For the ribald chanson "Frère Thibault" sung by these jolly *musici* is one which was not only set to music but set by the prince of chanson composers—Clément Janequin, kindred spirit among musicians to our Maître François.

This unique collection of Franco-Flemish composers, however, is only the first peak in the path of the chanson. Even more staggering is the catalogue of chansons performed at the Court of Lanternois—in all, 175 chansons to be sung and danced, with several repetitions. Introducing these songs originally to characterize the lighthearted Lanternois people, Rabelais apparently became carried away with his own enthusiasm and with his ever-present tendency to rhetorical climax—the piling up of detail upon detail. For although he used as source material lists published in various editions of the *Disciple de Pantagruel*, he more than redoubled these lists: more than half the chansons in the *Fifth Book*, that is, are new with our author. And in assembling these, he was undoubtedly influenced by the many volumes of polyphonic chansons to come from French presses during the first half of the sixteenth century—the same volumes which influenced his grouping of the fifty-eight composers in the *Fourth Book*.

Unlike the chanson, the polyphonic mass and motet—sacred forms comprising the largest portion of the musical output of the Renaissance, much of the best of which Rabelais must have heard many times—left little mark upon *Gargantua et Pantagruel*. As to sacred music, in fact, Rabelais seems generally to have been more keenly

aware of monody than polyphony, and that in an adverse way. (There is a tradition, however, that the aged Rabelais spent his last years as curator of Meudon, among other duties instructing children in plain song, the Gregorian chant.) The greater part of his reference to this type of music involves the Gregorian chant and consistently satirizes less admirable aspects of religion, especially formal rather than spiritual worship. In the first and third books of the novel Rabelais builds up his ideal religious man, Frère Jean, through allusions to the chant, most of them negative; that is, he portrays the lusty monk preferring to take an active part in life rather than to spend his time weakly chanting and hearing confession. In the *Fourth Book* our author becomes more seriously concerned with ideal worship as he satirizes the Papimanes with their false worship of the head of Christendom and the Sacred Decretals. And in the *Fifth Book* this satire comes to a harsh and bitter climax, as we have seen, with the Isle Sonante sequence wherein worship is always a matter of routine, of concern with material things, and wherein religion is simply security for rich livings. The idea of such unspiritual worship—symbolized by the Gregorian chant and the eternal ringing of bells calling forth this chant—actually comes to life here, with the parasitical birds playing leading roles in the little drama. Of the many incidents which share in this satire, one may be mentioned here: the singing of the pretty little Abbegesse before the snoring Evesgault, who, however, simply continues to snore. Angered by this noise and rudeness, Panurge strikes a bell hanging above the bishop-bird's cage—"mais quelque sonnerie qu'il fist, plus fort ronfloit Evesgault, point ne chantoit." This so enrages Panurge that he prepares to hurl a large stone to waken the snoring bird and force him to sing; but he is prevented by Editus who bitterly and sarcastically tells the travelers that one may attack or kill any king on earth or angel in heaven but not these sacroscent birds. Good singing, proper chanting, thus, goes unnoticed by slumbering prelates; and even the noisy bells cannot call them to their duties.

Allusion to the dance in the narrative follows a similar rhythm—that is, consistency in idea throughout with a quickening and climax in the last book. Spontaneous dancing on the green in folk connotations, dancing to develop and relax the body as part of a tutorial humanistic program of studies, dancing as a pleasant pastime among the noble people of Thélème, dancing as part of university life—all these characterize early books of the novel. In the *Fifth Book*, however, one finds an epitomization of Rabelais' over-all attitude toward the dance in the huge listing of native French dance-songs performed to entertain the travelers in Lanternois. There is no distinction here between court and folk dance: both types are mixed in with the chansons, most of which were to be sung and danced informally—significant again of Rabelais' view of the dance as a spontaneous out-

burst of activity springing from sheer joy and ebullient spirits. Neither here nor anywhere else in the novel is there any hint of a "theory" of the dance, any connection between the dance and the rhythmic movements of the planets (an idea which permeates, for example, much of the British Renaissance literature)—not even in the use of the classical dance, which also attains a climax in the *Fifth Book* with the Greek dances at Entelechie and the Chess Ballet, the latter beautifully portraying the power of music over man's emotions and actions.

Rabelais' use of musical concepts and doctrines, finally, is harmonious with his handling of other phases of music. Imagery based upon practical musical techniques—such as reference to the scale, to the variable B in the hexachordal system, to sight-singing, to diminution of note values ("fredonner")—heighten the humor or satire in all parts of the novel, including the last. But beginning with the *Third Book*, one notices for the first time imagery deriving from *speculatio musicae*, often Platonic concepts: the use of consonance and dissonance, the union of poetry and music, the concept of the macrocosm and its reflection the microcosm, the music of the universe. These punctuate in increasing numbers the *Third*, *Fourth* and *Fifth Books* at the same time that general (nonmusical) references to Plato attain more and more frequency. And whereas imagery based upon practical musical techniques (*musica practica*) is realistic, usually humorous, and oftentimes derogatory, that deriving from musical ideas (*musica speculativa*) is consistently of a high and lofty nature, always related to ideal persons, qualities, or situations. There are more of these ideas in the *Fifth Book* than anywhere else in the novel with several repetitions from earlier books. (For instance, in the *Third Book* Panurge rhapsodizes about an ideal world in which all men borrow and lend alike, and he compares the resulting harmony to the harmony of the spheres: "O quelle harmonie sera parmy les reguliers mouvemens des Cieulz! Il m'est advis que je l'entends aussi bien que feist oncques Platon." In the *Fifth Book* when the travelers' ship is freed from a sandbar by Henri Cotiral and his boatload of drums, the sound of drums and the mariners' song seems to the stranded travelers like that harmony of the spheres "laquelle dit Platon avoir par quelques nuicts ouye dormant." The interesting point here is that Plato nowhere says he *heard* this music.) More important and quite in keeping with the culmination of other musical imagery, several of these concepts literally materialize in this last book: the ideas become the episodes themselves. Thus Quinte Essence's miraculous healing with a chanson on the organ (both the chanson and the organ, as we have seen, were especially beloved of our author) dramatizes the concept of the healing powers of music; Bacbuc's fountain demonstrates the Pythagorean power of number, as sounding music arises from mathematical ratios; and the Chess

Ballet depicts musical *ethos*, music's power over man's soul and emotions. Hellenic ideas themselves, all these are a part of the Hellenism which pervades the Court of Entelechie and the Temple of the Bottle.

In all phases of music, then, meanings used consistently throughout the novel reach a grand culminating point in the last book; in each category of music some aspect becomes in the *Fifth Book* the subject for dramatization, an episode in the narrative. And so not only from a detailed point of view (as a study of all musical allusion plainly reveals¹) is the much disputed *Fifth Book* quite consonant with the rest of the novel, but in its large rhythms it is the rational and artistic conclusion to the four preceding books. Hence it would seem ineluctably the work of our author—now older, more mature in outlook, somewhat more bitter in matters of religion at least, more deeply steeped in humanism, and more interested in ideas than in the material world.

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¹ The interested reader may find details in the following articles: "Rabelais and Musical Symbols," *Romanic Review*, XL (1949), 3-17; "Rabelais and Musical Ideas," *ibid.*, XLI (1950), 14-25; "Rabelais and the Chanson," *PMLA*, LXV (1950), 1212-32.

PAUL MORAND'S MEMORIES OF GIRAUDOUX
IN GERMANY

By LAURENCE LESAGE

After reading the article entitled "Giraudoux's German Studies," which appeared in the September, 1951, issue of *Modern Language Quarterly*, Paul Morand addressed the following letter to its author. M. Morand's long friendship with Giraudoux, one will remember, began in Germany when Giraudoux was hired as his tutor. He is therefore in a particularly favorable position to throw light on Giraudoux's student days in Germany, an important period in his life about which, until recently, we had known very little. The additional information M. Morand offers us here fills in some of the gaps and clarifies some of the points of the article. It also heightens the interest of those parts of *Siegfried et le Limousin* that record Giraudoux's own story of his activities in Germany. Such "bavardage," as M. Morand so modestly calls it, gives testimony and documentation not to be found elsewhere. It seems fitting to make it available to biographers of Giraudoux and historians of contemporary French literature, especially in its relations with the German.

28/11/51

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Tanger-Maroc

Monsieur,

J'ai lu avec grand intérêt votre étude sur Giraudoux et l'Allemagne. Comme vous dites, c'est un premier apport de matériaux dont l'histoire littéraire devra désormais tenir compte. Aucun pays n'a remplacé l'Allemagne pour Giraudoux; il est venu une ou deux fois me voir en Angleterre et n'a montré aucune curiosité pour ce pays; l'Amérique a peu compté pour lui; il a traversé l'Espagne en 40 (pour aller au Portugal rechercher son fils parti en dissidence) comme n'importe quel pays. Mais l'Allemagne a été un grand morceau de sa vie.

Vous avais-je dit qu'à Munich, en 1905, sa grande admiration était Wedeking, parmi les jeunes littérateurs? Au cours de l'hiver 1905, il avait surtout vécu à Schwabing, dans les ateliers, parmi les acteurs et les chanteurs d'opéra. La bière de mars, le carnaval l'avaient ravi.

Vous faites allusion à la correspondance du *Figaro* aux Etats-Unis. Lorsqu'il était à Munich, Giraudoux descendait chaque matin au café Luitpold lire le *Figaro* (tous les hôtels et cafés viennois et allemands le recevaient, en ces temps civilisés): il avait (grâce à

l'actrice des Français Wanda de Bongza) une carte de presse pour l'Allemagne qui lui facilitait l'accès de certains théâtres et concerts; aussi, au moment de partir pour les Etats-Unis mon père, qui était très lié avec deux amis intimes du directeur du *Figaro*, Calmette, Georges Noeustchel, le collectionneur (v. Collection P. Morgan) et Ballot, de la Société des Auteurs, mon père, dis-je, fit-il avoir à Giraudoux une autre carte de représentant cette fois pour l'Amérique.

Pour en revenir à l'Allemagne, mon père qui représenta, dans l'été de 1905, le ministère français de Beaux Arts à la Kunstanstellung, mit Giraudoux en rapports avec des peintres de Munich: il l'emmena plusieurs fois à Dachau, où se trouvait une jeune école de peinture (notamment chez le peintre Ferber). Giraudoux avait donné plusieurs semaines de suite des leçons de français dans les milieux de la Cour de Bavière.

L'été, il allait souvent sur le lac Starnberg; nous y prenions des bains dans la 1^{re} piscine qui eût des vagues artificielles, grâce à des machines dont les Bavares n'étaient pas peu fiers et qu'il recommandaient de visiter. Giraudoux s'amusait du français de la pancarte s'adressant aux touristes: "Les machines seront en examination les jours inconvenants à prendre le bain."

Excusez ce bavardage et croyez-moi, cher Monsieur,

Très vôtre
P. Morand

Pennsylvania State College

REVIEWS

The Legendary History of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Regum Britanniae" and Its Early Vernacular Versions. By J. S. P. TATLOCK. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950. Pp. xi + 545. \$7.50.

Every student of Arthurian legend will be indebted to this posthumous work, which has been capably seen through the press by Mrs. Germaine Dempster. At the time of his death (June 24, 1948) Dr. Tatlock had been recognized for almost half a century as a leading authority on Chaucer, his writings dating back to 1903 and including three Chaucer Society volumes and (in collaboration with A. G. Kennedy) the invaluable *Chaucer Concordance*. In 1909, after he had produced two books and seven articles on Chaucer, his note on "A British Icarus" no doubt occasioned surprise when it was found to concern not *The House of Fame* but *Bladud*. Only three Arthurian articles from his pen appeared before 1931; indeed, the present work was preceded by but twenty Arthurian articles, only half of them being directly related to that other "Englyssh Gaufride." The modesty with which these articles are footnoted in the book (e.g., p. 36, n. 148; p. 122, n. 31; p. 128, n. 59; p. 511, n. 107) is characteristic of the author. For those who knew him the book will reflect his enthusiasm for his subject, his good sense and native shrewdness, and his confident and lusty downrightness.

Four-fifths of the volume (Part I) is devoted to Geoffrey's *Historia*. From a full commentary on its place- and personal names, the author proceeds to Merlin and Arthur and the establishment of his convictions that Merlin materials but no Arthur cycle existed before Geoffrey. Then he considers such varied aspects as religion and the Church, law, politics, customs and popular elements before evaluating Geoffrey's motives and personality. Tatlock is at his best when dealing with Latin texts. He is convincing in his disagreement, frequent with *Faral* and occasional with *Chambers*, *Griscom*, and others. His commentary is enlivened by parallels and echoes, as might be expected, from Chaucer. He makes a few unguarded assertions, like the dictum that OE. *hīd* and *hȳd* are feminine *ō*-stems. And he leaves the reader aware at every turn that his chief aim has been "accurate thoroughness" (p. 6).

The remaining fifth (Part II) concerns *Gaimar* and the early French versions, *Wace* (in whom Tatlock finds no signs of Celtic influence or a lost original), and *Lawman*, who paradoxically, though he depends rather upon French than Celtic (Welsh) tradition, shows no classical culture but a striking familiarity with Ireland. Geoffrey's *Historia* Tatlock would date 1130-1138, *Lawman's Brut* (despite *Madden*) 1189-1199. Not the least daring in this book, which contains more speculation than Tatlock's prefatory chapter would suggest, are the conjectures on *Lawman*. Comparison will reveal that Geoffrey knew more of Latin culture, *Brittany*, and the Continent than did *Lawman*, and less about the sea and Ireland; neither, in Tatlock's opinion, was too familiar with Wales and Welsh traditions. This opinion brings us to the one salient weakness in an otherwise excellent book.

From the outset it becomes evident that Dr. Tatlock's command of the Celtic background is inadequate. On page 13, for example, he notes *Blenner-Hasset's*

article on Mons Agned but ignores Kenneth Jackson's refutation (*MP*, XLIII, 53). On page 15 he depends upon Skene's 1868 English instead of Ifor Williams' 1938 *Canu Aneirin*; had he been able to read Williams' Welsh note (p. 185) he would have discarded Anwyll's reading of *clut* as *Alclut*. Williams' note on 1242 (p. 343) would have suggested revision of note 97 on page 199. In these early pages as elsewhere, Tatlock appears unaware of Max Foerster's monumental *Themse* volume. But Tatlock's shortcomings on the Welsh side have already been dealt with by Dr. Parry more ably than this reviewer could do: see *JEGP*, L, 112-16. To my knowledge no reviewer has considered Tatlock's equally unhappy treatment of the Irish background. Several times he has relied upon F. N. Robinson or A. E. Hutson—both "competent Celtists," as Tatlock rightly terms them—but for the most part he has dug up his own information. As a result his Irish findings lack the "accurate thoroughness" he intended. On page 29 his chance reading in Watson causes him to single out the *dindshenchas* poem of Ath Fadat for a not too close parallel to Sabrina; he could have found a dozen other Irish river legends, some bearing a more marked resemblance to the Welsh story. There are Irish parallels for the "Saltus Goëmagot" (p. 55), such as the leaps of Gormfaith (cf. *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan*, ed. Jones, pp. 109, 162) and Suibhne and CúChulainn, which are as hard to track down as Spenser's Goëmot and Coulin's leap in the *Faerie Queene*. (One suspects that Spenser had the Guildhall giants in mind; was Geoffrey, who "shows so much knowledge of London," also thinking of twelfth-century forerunners of these statues?) Maglaurus (p. 149) looks like Latinized Ir. *Mac gilla uidhir*, a surname in Scotland and Armagh, now reduced to "Mac-Clure." There are pertinent Meilges (p. 151) known in Scotland and Ireland. The commentary on *Gilla*-names (pp. 155-57) is quite inadequate; the name *Giollarám* supplied by Robinson would seem to be Tatlock's misreading of *Giollaráin* ("patrician youth"), Elizabethan *Magilllerane*, surviving as *Gilrain*, *Kilrane*; *Gillasel* looks like *Giolla ísel* ("plebeian youth"): *Is(s)el* was an alternative name for the sixth-century St. Teilo, the disciple of Dubritius and friend of Samson and David (cf. Parry, *Brut Y Brenhinedd*, p. 172), to all of whom Tatlock devotes attention (pp. 243-47). One must overlook Tatlock's claim, because he has "nowhere found" such names in Irish, that they "suggest a writer who was making the most of small knowledge," or that Geoffrey here coined names because "the supply of authentic names ran out." *Gillomanius* (n. 218), which Tatlock considers "not an over-likely name," looks like the Antrim surname *Gilla M(h)eana*, which survives today as *Gilvany*, *MacElvany*; Tatlock's guess at "Magnus" here is out of the question. Despite Hutson's sound suggestion (p. 316) Tatlock ignores the possible derivation of *Igern(a)* from *Cáintigern*: see *JEGP*, XLV, 7, 11, 23 (cf. Tatlock's n. 55). Tatlock's observations on Lawman's Irish names are subject to similar strictures. *Gillemaur* (p. 521), early known in Scotland, was often Englished into *Mor(r)ison* "Mary's son." For *Gille Callaet* Tatlock finds "no origin to suggest," but *Gilla Callóid*, meaning "quarrelsome servant," seem appropriate enough for the "treacherous Pictish knight"; see Dinneen, *Rev. Celt.*, XXXVIII, 156-57, where *callóid* is equated with *W. kallawet*. For *Gille Caor* Tatlock finds again "no such word in Irish." But the regular and common Irish equivalent for "W. gawr" (unmutated) is *caur*, *curad* (see Meyer, *Contrib.*; D'Arbois, *Soc. de Linguistique, Mémoires*, V, 121; Morris Jones, *Welsh Grammar*, p. 105; Pederesen, I, 62; etc.). Thus Tatlock's surprise that "these two fresh Gaelic names should be so unusual" is quite groundless. It is noteworthy that, while he labors

to show that Geoffrey may have been unfamiliar with places teeming in Celtic tradition like Stonehenge and Bangor and Caer Segeint but depended instead on "accurate hearsay," Tatlock insists upon Lawman's actual residence in Ireland. Such an assumption overlooks likely channels through which Lawman near the Severn might well have had access to Irish or Norse-Irish traditions. Nor is the name of Lawman's father Leovenað so "obviously Anglo-Saxon" as Tatlock assumes. It is traceable also to Gaelic *Leamhnach* "Lennox-man," frequent in both Scotland and Ireland, for which Watson cites (p. 119) the twelfth-thirteenth century forms *Leuenax*, *Levenath*, etc. (cf. Tatlock, pp. 76; 511, n. 112). In postulating that Lawman lived in Ireland, as in accounting for Geoffrey's Estrildis and elsewhere, Tatlock appears to father what French critics call *la thèse séduisante*. Yet except for his bogging down in the perennial confusions of the Celtic morass, Dr. Tatlock has made notable headway against the pitfalls and obstacles which have long obstructed the Arthurian quest.

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All Coherence Gone. By VICTOR HARRIS. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1949. Pp. x + 255. \$5.00.

This is Professor Harris' account of his subject matter:

The idea that the world decays—an idea inherited from the Middle Ages—was part of the Renaissance cosmic order. For two centuries it was particularly important to man's rational and spiritual life. What did this belief offer that so recommended it to the imagination, that brought to it such passionate allegiance? What was the change that finally outmoded the accepted world picture and substituted a different picture, another kind of order? These are the questions that I shall deal with in this study.

Professor Harris' questions have relatively simple answers that were pretty well known before, though nobody has treated in so much detail the arguments that produced the answers. Nearly one half of the book is devoted to a summary (with running commentary) of the debate between Goodman and Hakewill. The other large section is a history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the development of the controversy. Then there is a final summary of the basic arguments, with some more detail. Such a plan has of course led to considerable repetitiveness, which cannot be excused; for there is no significant extension, through the multiplied details, of the implications contained in the issues. This reviewer feels that a bibliographical article and an article based on the final summary would have sufficiently presented Professor Harris' contribution.

There is a disproportion between the evidence and the conclusions. Since it did not require so much elaborate evidence to demonstrate the conclusions, some of the time the evidence is just demonstrating the evidence. And some of the time the disproportion takes over in another way—the conclusions seem to demonstrate the evidence. At that point the questions to be dealt with become lost in the answers, and we have the unfortunate tendencies of the thesis book; which happens most offensively when works of literature are used to illustrate the history of the idea—used as if there were no real distinction to be made between a poet and his metaphor, between a work of art and an idea it builds on.

Donne, who furnishes the title, is made to furnish the chief literary illustration. In spite of the inadequate verbal disclaimer that Donne does not necessarily accept "the entire pattern of decay in a literal sense," Professor Harris is apparently convinced that he does: "it seems no less probable that such statements adequately represent Donne's position." And we are given what is suspiciously like an account of Donne's literary development in terms of Professor Harris' thesis. "Even in a work as serious as *Biathanatos*, in which Donne indulges in morbid reflections on the futility of life, he does not develop the obvious opportunity of describing in detail the decline and corruption of the universe." He has only "a conventional phrase or two" in Satire V and Elegy XVII. He even misses his chance in Satire III: "The concept of decay is still not central to the poem even in *Satire III*." Things begin to look better in *The Progresse of the Soule*. And finally: "Donne develops the full implications of universal decay for the first time" in *The First Anniversary*. We must concede that "the elegy is not always artistically valid and is at times even grotesque; but the picture of total desolation and decay remains a moving one."

This undisciplined enthusiasm of attitude is a reminder of the risk run by thesis writers who try to reduce great works of literature to illustrations.

ARNOLD STEIN

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Keats: A Bibliography and Reference Guide, with an Essay on Keats' Reputation. By J. R. MACGILLIVRAY. Toronto: University of Toronto, Department of English, Studies and Texts, No. 3, 1949. Pp. lxxxi + 210. \$5.00.

Most of the writing about Keats since 1921, as Mr. MacGillivray notes, has been "essentially academic" in nature, and, as he adds, this "in its way, is merely another sign that Keats is 'among the English poets.'" It is only fitting that the hundreds of tributes which have been paid to Keats should now culminate with that characteristically academic tribute—a thorough bibliography. Such a bibliography was certainly needed. Hitherto, the Keats scholar has been obliged to grope his way through a variety of compilations such as J. P. Anderson's list of 1887. Now he can have at hand, between two covers, an accurate record of all the essential books and articles that have been published between 1817 and 1946.

The twenty-five headings under which the bibliographical entries are classified may baffle readers at first because the author has sliced vertically (by using chronological classification) as well as horizontally (by using type classification), yet renewed use of the book shows that the method is justified. What cannot be so justified, however, is the disappointing lack of a comprehensive index. Only the names of secondary authorities are indexed, and the reader who wishes to locate information concerning *Endymion*, for example, will still be obliged to grope his way, even though confined now, happily, to what is between two covers.

For the nineteenth century, the check lists are thorough, especially the impressive list of reviews and anthologies published before 1848 which extends considerably our awareness of the early critical reception of Keats. The twentieth-century list is intentionally less complete, but where selection is made,

it is made with judgment. I was sorry, however, to note the omission of J. W. Beach's excellent chapters on *Lamia* (in his *Romantic View of Poetry*) and, to a lesser extent, of William Empson's *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, G. N. Shuster's *English Ode from Milton to Keats*, and R. D. Havens' *Influence of Milton*. And again, perhaps a very small bone, I should like to have seen room made for E. M. Forster's *Celestial Omnibus* in the section which lists fiction related to Keats.

In addition to the bibliography, the book contains a seventy-page essay on the development of Keats's reputation. With this piece it would be difficult to quarrel on any count. Mr. MacGillivray devotes most of his attention to the period from 1817 to 1830, a period which has been previously touched on lightly by every biographer and critic of Keats, but which is here, for the first time, given complete and accurate treatment. In this part of his essay, Mr. MacGillivray shows that he is fully aware of that scattered minority of readers, in England and America, who early expressed their enthusiasm for Keats's poetry, but he wisely concentrates on explaining why the majority of readers neglected Keats's poetry after it had been attacked by the "cut-throat buccaneers of Regency journalism." It was Keats's stylistic innovations, as he shows, that most repelled early readers. Such readers had been accustomed to a diet of Moore, Byron, Scott, and Campbell, and, it might be added, to a diet of traditional eighteenth-century poetry as well.

Although the later parts of Mr. MacGillivray's essay are not so novel as that which covers the period up to 1830, they do summarize skillfully the available information concerning the principal stages of Keats's growing popularity among readers of both the Victorian age and our own, and, as such, they provide an interesting history of taste from Tennyson to Allen Tate. The style throughout is a treat in itself—charming, vigorous, and witty. After quoting Arnold's celebrated but silly attack on Keats's love-letters, Mr. MacGillivray comments nicely: "All this makes one regret that Arnold, who had written so admirably about the need and advantages of choosing excellent models, did not also quote one of his own love-letters as a demonstration of how this confessedly difficult form of literature should be composed."

This book will obviously be valuable for readers of Keats, but it may likewise be of interest to students of Victorian or contemporary literature. Moreover, it seems especially appropriate for a generation in which, as the author says, Keats is perhaps no longer the poet's poet but has become very much the critic's poet.

GEORGE H. FORD

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Leigh Hunt's Dramatic Criticism, 1807-1831. Edited by LAWRENCE HUSTON HOUTCHENS and CAROLYN WASHBURN HOUTCHENS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. xiii + 347. \$4.50.

Leigh Hunt was not so much a serious critic of the drama as an accomplished theatrical journalist. Although he often pretended to authority in the former role, his critical faculty was too much at the mercy of his sensibilities, which were as susceptible as an Aeolian harp. (Perhaps nothing is more perfectly indicative of Hunt's temperament than the fact that he once wrote a masque for closet reading.) But if he lacked the philosophical and aesthetic perceptions of,

say, Hazlitt, as a vivacious day-by-day chronicler of the early nineteenth-century London stage, Hunt has no peer. He reported for the *Tatler* and the *Examiner* at a time when the offerings in the playhouses ran an extraordinary gamut of both variety and quality. At the bottom of the scale there were such enterprises as *Blue Beard* by the younger Colman, a horse opera in the strictest literal sense. At various levels above it, though sometimes not far above it, were the pantomime, the ballet, the Italian opera, and the oratorio; and at the top were Paganini, and the Shakespearean productions of the Kembles and the newly risen Kean. Whatever the quality of the evening's entertainment, Hunt spoke his opinions on the acting, the music, and the staging with such forthrightness and particularity as to suggest that he fancied himself a stage-manager *manqué*. He was never happier than when he was offering advice to the players. And because, as a journalist, he was gifted with an ever-attentive eye and ear and with a talent for vivid description, he has left us a wealth of first-hand material on the acting and staging fashions of his time and on the characteristics of many of the principal players. In addition, we are given many delightful glimpses of the general theatrical atmosphere, as when Hunt writes an eye-witness account of the "O.P." riots, or enumerates the splendors of the newly decorated saloon at Drury Lane.

Not all of the material in this well-printed collection of Hunt's fugitive theatrical commentary is about actual performances or contemporary stage conditions. When the season was languishing, he filled his space with little informal essays ("Christmas and the Theatre," "Bonnets at the Theatre") in his well-known manner. Unfortunately, but inevitably, his pieces are uneven. Too often he was forced to scrape the bottom of the barrel, first to find a subject and then to find something to say about it. There is much in this book which one reads and then immediately forgets. On the other hand, the flicker of Huntian wit is seldom absent even from his most perfunctory pages.

Since a complete edition of Hunt's writings, a desideratum for a hundred years, supposedly will remain so for some time to come, Mr. and Mrs. Houtchens have done well to collect these essays. (Two more volumes, containing literary criticism and political and miscellaneous essays, are to come.) I do feel, though, that they have been overconscientious in their annotation. By ransacking the biographical and theatrical dictionaries, they have identified all the forgotten names with which Hunt's text is peppered, and the student will thank them for it. But it is not likely that anyone who has occasion to use this book will need to be told who Mrs. Siddons or Alexander Pope or Macready was. Nor is it necessary to have an act-scene-line reference for every quotation from Shakespeare or Milton—or to be alerted by a superior numeral whenever Hunt departs, be it only by the margin of a single letter, from the official text of the author he is quoting. Somehow, excessive annotation seems more than usually pedantic when it is applied to the writings of a man like Leigh Hunt.

RICHARD D. ALTICK

Ohio State University

Goethe on Human Creativeness and Other Goethe Essays. Edited by ROLF KING in association with CALVIN BROWN and ERICH FUNKE. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1950. Pp. xxvii + 252. \$5.00.

L. A. Willoughby presents a sympathetic and understanding study of "Goethe, the Man"; Gerhard Fricke's "Goethe and Werther" is an excellent essay, full of critical insights; Max O. Mauderli compares poems by Goethe and Hölderlin, specifically "Mohamets Gesang" and the "Schicksalslied"; Gregor Sebba has a long chapter on "Goethe on Human Creativeness," using parts of *Faust II* and "Selige Sehnsucht" as illustrations of Goethe's ideas of entelechy, monadology, etc.; A. Didier Graeffe in "Goethe's Faust: Ego and Alter Ego" sees Faust's moral ambiguity rooted in the state of our own moral equilibrium; the editor has translated some chips from the workshop of Carlo Rudino's Italian translation of the "Gretchen Tragedy"; Will Schaber devotes nine pages to the old Goethe's views on the social problem of the underprivileged; and Ronald King, in "Goethe and the Challenge of Science in Western Civilization," sees the life and works of Goethe as a fine introduction to the understanding of science for the humanist who, in our times, has become separated from science and skeptical of the ability of scientists to contribute to the salvation of our cultural heritage.

All in all, this is a surprisingly stimulating series of essays gathered together in a beautifully printed and bound volume, disfigured only by misplaced lines on two pages (127, 161), one misprint ("erkankt" for "erkrankt," p. 213), lack of space after a dash (p. 212), one wrong division (Ausstos-sung, p. 99), and one footnote misnumbered (p. 235, line 5).

CURTIS C. D. VAIL

University of Washington

J. M. R. Lenz, *Die Soldaten*. Pp. 69. E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Der Kampf der Sänger*. Pp. 63. A. Holz and J. Schlaf, *Die Familie Selicke*. Pp. 80. Adalbert Stifter, *Kalkstein*. Pp. 77. E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Meister Martin Der Kufner und Seine Gesellen*. Pp. x + 74. Cambridge University Press.

It seems especially timely in the face of rising prices that the Cambridge University Press should see fit to continue its inexpensive "Plain Text Series" which sell at forty-five cents each. The offerings under consideration have nothing in common except an editorial policy designed to furnish student and teacher alike with a clean text at a reasonable price. Furthermore, a reputable British scholar supplies each work with a sketchy though adequate introduction to the author and the historical problem, together with bibliographical hints and a note on the textual form. The type is a clearly readable 8-point with page margins of a width satisfactory for the reader's notations.

This random selection covers a period of one hundred and fifteen years in German letters (1775-1890). The first and last stories in point of time represent beginnings. Each partook of short-lived but vigorous movements destined to leave a stamp on literature through sheer violence before dissipating when confronted by more settled minds. From a stylistic point of view both Storm and Stress and Naturalism have many features in common, however different their respective origins and ideological bases may have been. The central works in

this time-scheme represent end-points in development: on the one hand that curious figure, E. T. A. Hoffmann, who combines the ideas of Early Romanticism with an uncanny imagination; and, on the other, Adalbert Stifter who writes what is presumably a fairy tale in his severely controlled and simple style, but in reality belies the seething core of emotion not yet under control in his very early works, published in newspapers. Ernst Bertram gives us the key to this highly problematic figure, who found it necessary to leave this life at his own instigation; the latter fact alone lends weight to Bertram's contention that the seeming placidity of *Nachsommer* and even *Bunte Steine* (from which *Kalkstein* is taken) does not stand in a direct relation to Stifter's own troublous soul.

The editors are to be congratulated for their interesting choice and for making available texts which, with the exception of Stifter, are usually very difficult to obtain without necessitating the purchase of a collected edition. It has long been a conviction of this reviewer that annotated texts of the usual school variety constitute a waste of a scholar's time as well as an expensive luxury for the student. Editions such as these used with a dictionary afford not only a less expensive but also a more rewarding education. Moreover, the whole teaching program becomes at once more elastic.

GEORGE C. BUCK

University of Washington

Marot: *L'Homme et l'œuvre*. Par P. Jourda. Paris: Boivin, 1950. Pp. 167.

P. Jourda, dont la thèse sur Marguerite d'Angoulême fait autorité, vient de publier un petit volume sur Clément Marot, dans la collection qui portait encore "le titre modeste sous lequel elle s'est présentée: LE LIVRE DE L'ETUDIANT": quarante-quatre pages sur la vie de Marot, une centaine sur l'œuvre de notre poète. Celui-ci est, déclare-t-on, "né, probablement, vers la fin de 1496. . . ." Or ce qui est incertain, ce n'est pas seulement l'époque de l'année, mais l'année même de la naissance de Marot. Dans la "Chronologie des œuvres . . . par Lenglet-Dufresnoy" (reproduite à la fin de l'édition Grenier), c'est 1495 que nous lisons. Je crois qu'il serait prudent de dire "vers 1495 (?)" (cf. Marcel Françon, "Vasquin Philieul, traducteur de Pétrarque," *French Studies*, IX [1950], 216-26). Ajoutons une remarque sur l'incarcération de Marot au Châtelet en 1526. D'après Jourda, le grief qu'on faisait à Marot, c'était d'avoir "rompu l'abstinence qui était alors de règle; faute grave avec laquelle, en ces débuts des conflits religieux, ne badinaient ou ne transigeaient ni le pouvoir ecclésiastique, ni le pouvoir civil." Et Jourda précise: "Il est sûr qu'il fut dénoncé par une femme, sa maîtresse, une certaine Isabeau qu'il nomme aussi Luna. . . ." Puis-je rappeler que j'ai essayé de montrer que Luna était un emblème de l'Eglise Catholique (cf. "Un Symbole de l'Eglise Catholique," *PMLA*, LX [1945], 59-65)? Jamais, à propos de l'affaire de 1526, Marot n'a parlé de "lard en carême," et il s'est défendu, à cette époque, contre les accusations qu'on portait contre lui au sujet de ses opinions religieuses. A ce moment—pendant la captivité de François 1^{er} à Madrid—c'était Louise de Savoie qui était régente, et elle se montrait hostile aux "évangéliques." Quant au *Roman de la Rose*, il n'est pas sûr que ce soit Marot qui l'ait édité (cf. B. Weinberg, "Guillaume Michel dit de Tours," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XI [1949], 72-85). Signalons,

au passage, une petite erreur: "dès l'*Enfer*, c'est-à-dire en 1525 . . ." (p. 58); il faudrait 1526 (n.s.). Passons à la présentation de l'œuvre marotique. Jourda insiste heureusement sur l'évolution de celle-ci. L'étude historique et chronologique des œuvres reste une excellente méthode dont Laumonier a montré tout l'intérêt à propos de Ronsard et Villey à propos de Montaigne. Insistons (surtout à une époque où l'on tend à considérer les œuvres en dehors du temps!) donc sur le développement des œuvres qui nous occupent, et, tout particulièrement, sur le dynamisme du XVI^e siècle. Notons que le refrain: *Desbander l'arc ne guerit point la plaie* est une traduction assez libre d'un vers d'un sonnet de Pétrarque (cf. art. cit. sur Vasquin Philieul, p. 221). Disons, à propos des "cinq points en amour," qu'on voudrait voir citer l'article de James Hutton ("Spenser and the 'Cinq Points en Amours,'" *MLN*, LVII [1942], 657-61), comme, à propos des épigrammes, l'ouvrage fondamental de celui-ci, *The Greek Anthology in France* (Ithaca, 1946). Ajoutons que C. A. Mayer, dans le compte rendu qu'il a fait du livre de Jourda, signale "quelques erreurs matérielles" (cf. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XII [1950], 390-92); mais, tout en les regrettant, concluons, en remarquant que le *Marot* de Jourda nous paraît une bonne introduction (le *Marot* de Plattard reste, pourtant, un meilleur guide) à l'étude du poète.

MARCEL FRANÇON

Harvard University

Anatole France and the Greek World. By LORING BAKER WALTON. Durham: Duke University Press, 1950. Pp. 334. \$6.00.

We cannot be too grateful to scholars—who are also men of taste and insight—who thought that years of patient research might be necessary to reach the depth and foundations of France's figure betrayed by his own apparent simplicity. Two thirds of Walton's book is devoted to the analysis of France's Greek sources classified under three headings: modern contacts with Greece, Greek literature, and Greek civilization. Most interesting, not so much from the point of view of Anatole France, but as a chapter of general literary history, is the account of notions on and attitudes toward Greece prevalent in France during the second half of the nineteenth century.

It is significant that at the end of this chapter, Walton thought fit to insert the following note: "(Readers interested in general impressions rather than in detail will perhaps find it profitable to pass to Chapter IV)." Indeed, Chapters II and III, which cover 175 pages, make it only too clear that the systematic hunt for sources is a rather hazardous venture. As it requires an extensive use of files, indexes, and other material, as it apparently deals with facts, it is usually considered as the only "scientific" and, consequently, the only serious approach to literature. These two chapters bear evidence both of Walton's thoroughness and of the efficiency of the method; we may even say of its overefficiency, since, in many cases, we are offered two or three alternative sources for a name, a word, or an illusion. *Abondance de biens ne nuit pas*. . . . Let us ask, not only Walton, but all those who encourage that type of scholarship: in what does such a research contribute to the knowledge of an author, to the understanding of the man and of his works? Supposing we knew from which quarries the various stones of the Parthenon came—or might have come—

would we be in a better position to appreciate the temple as a masterpiece of architecture, or know more about its architects?

By definition, looking for similarities, the source hunter fails to see that divergences are more important, are the only important element, as they point to the original genius of the author. When on page 240 Walton quotes: "En toutes choses, ma sagesse copiera la sagesse divine, et la copie sera plus précieuse que le modèle: elle aura coûté plus de soins et de plus grands travaux!" and comments: "These lines suggest the thought of Ménard's Stoic, Chérémon, who says: 'L'homme peut donner sa vie en sacrifice, les Dieux ne le peuvent pas, et c'est en quoi l'homme est supérieur aux Dieux,'" we wonder at the blinding effect of the source hypothesis, which blurred to identity two statements whose difference is much more significant of France's personal preoccupation and interests, than their supposed similarity is of his readings. Carried away by his subject, Walton seems to forget that any "bachelier" in France may refer to the "serpentine head dress" of the furies, or to naiads, without any claims to Hellenism.

In spite of his studious devotion to his task, Walton emerges from his search with interesting conclusions. In fact, looking for sources, he has spent years in close intimacy with the text which forced upon him a few major revelations. With Leon Carias, Jacques Suffel, and Claude Aveline, he briefly suggests that Anatole France is far more complex, more alive and passionate than is usually thought—in a word, that life may well have meant more to him than literature. Which we translate, not against Walton, but against the method of which he has been a victim: his life was more important to him than his Greek sources.

JEAN GUIGUET

University of Washington

Le Panorama Littéraire de l'Europe (1833-1834). Par THOMAS R. PALFREY. Evanston: Northwestern University Studies, Humanities Series, No. 22, 1950. Pp. 154. \$3.00.

Cette étude se propose, entre autres buts, de projeter quelque lumière sur la question de savoir si le romantisme est indigène à la France. On conviendra qu'elle atteint son objet lorsqu'elle propose l'affirmative avec faits à l'appui, d'autant plus qu'il est généralement admis que le romantisme est l'aspect littéraire de la révolution. L'auteur montre brièvement que les étrangers se détachèrent des romantiques français comme ils l'avaient fait auparavant pour la révolution française. Aussi ce travail montre un aspect de la "réaction" vers 1830 à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur de la France. Il s'agit d'une petite revue qui dura de 1833 à 1834. Le fondateur Edouard Mennechet avait collaboré à la *Chronique de France*, revue politique, et avait rempli un poste important sous la branche aînée de la famille royale, aussi lorsque Mennechet et ses collaborateurs proposèrent à leur public de lui faire connaître l'Europe littéraire sans se mêler de politique ils ne purent se défaire de l'habitude acquise. La revue servit à diminuer la crainte de la révolution française à l'étranger en montrant que la France restait conservatrice; à faire connaître l'Allemagne surtout, l'Angleterre ensuite, les littératures méridionales par des compte-rendus de livres et par des traductions; et à morigéner les romantiques-révolutionnaires français par le truchement de l'étranger. Ce qui vient d'être

dit rend apparente, nous l'espérons, l'inexactitude de la première page de l'Avant-Propos où il est dit que *Le Panorama* est un de ces petits périodiques qui ont "contribué eux aussi leur modeste part à l'œuvre de propagation des idées cosmopolites en France." *Le Panorama* était représentatif de la Sainte Alliance tandis que l'évocation des idées cosmopolites fait penser au libéralisme et à madame de Stael. La distinction est à garder historiquement même si dans les circonstances actuelles elle tend à s'estomper.

JEAN DAVID

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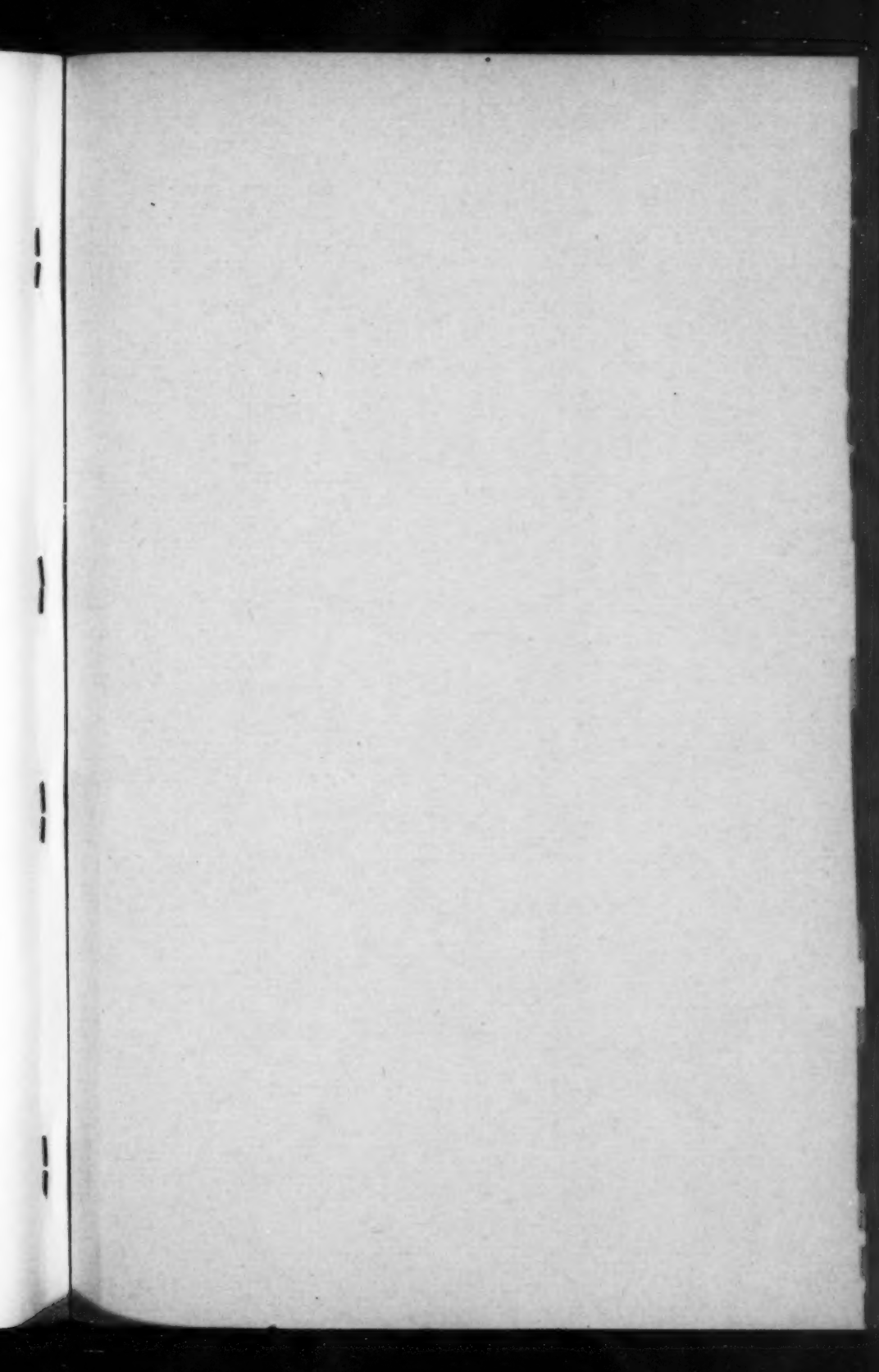
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